PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The first edition of Part I of the Muslim Patronage to Sanskritic Learning was exhausted within a few months of its publication in 1942. Since then, I had been contemplating to bring out a second edition, but this did not materialise on account of my other preoccupations particularly because new works were constantly being undertaken and published in succession. I must, however, acknowledge my gratitude in this connection to the Government of United Bengal for purchasing a large number of copies of the first edition for distribution all over India and outside. Numerous requests from all quarters reached me in the mean time for bringing out a second edition, so I do hope though belated this edition will receive the same appreciation as the first one did.

This edition has been thoroughly revised and all up to date informations incorporated into it particularly on the basis of my own researches into the subject at hand and allied subjects. However, as so many new and important materials could not be utilized in this volume, two more volumes will be published soon in the same series.

The Prācyavāṇī is extremely grateful to MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD, Minister of Education, Government of India, for kindly extending his benign helping hand for bringing out the publications of the Institute. The Government of India have very kindly borne half the cost of publication of the present work as of several other works to be soon published by the Prācyavāṇī.

Prācyavāṇī
19th February, 1954

J. B. CHAUDHURI

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INTRODUCTION

Communal fraternity may be of two kinds Senti mental and intellectual The former implies religious fusion and the latter mutual love for the languages and literatures of each other Both these interrelated aspects of communal harmony became manifest during Moslem rule in India The object of the present work is to give an authoritative account of the second aspect only So only a brief outline of the first aspect is given below

Power of assimilation is the characteristic feature of Indian people Whatever be the creed it is by and by absorbed by the great assimilating force of Mother India The consequence in the Mediaeval ages has therefore been the fusion of Mahomedan and Hindu Culture and Civilization The innermost heart of the Indian people is always alert to receive the Truth whatever be the source and in doing so it knows no barrier —of caste and creed This is exemplified best in the grand intermixture of Hinduism and Mahomedanism in Mediaeval times Even to-day the Hindus honour no less than the Mahomedans the great reformer saint Makhdum Sajjad Ali al Hujwiri who was originally an inhabitant of Ghazni His disciple Muinuddin Chishti (1142 1236) brought very close together both the Hindus and Moslems in their quest of the Supreme Soul As a

SUPPLEMENTS

APPENDICES

In former times Andāl a woman of low caste, was worshipped by the followers of the Ālvārs in the South The works of Pariahs like Thirupam, author of the Tiru Vayamoli, were recognized by religious leaders like Rāmānuja Later on Caitanya in Bengal, Śaṁkaradeva in Assam Tukā Ramā and Nāmadeva in Mahārāstra and similarly, other great religious leaders never cared for caste system or bothered about distinguishing between Hinduism and Mahomedanism Among the famous pupils of Ramānanda were Ravidāsa a shoe maker, Senā a barbar and Kabir a Mahomedan weaver Kabir s life long mission was a synthesis between Hinduism and Mahomedanism and his noble precepts were translated into action by Nānaka, Dādu, Jīvana Dāsa, Prema Dasa Bijli Khān, Rajjab and others Bari Saheb Biru Saheb, Yari Sāheb, Bulla Saheb—whether Hindu or Moslem—all took up one great mission—viz unity between the Hindus and Moslems in religious as well as social life Women too, at this time, came to the forefront of religious rejuvenation as is evidenced by Nānibāi and Mātā Bāi (daughters of Dādū) Mirā Janā Bai Dayābāi Ksemā or Ksemaśri, Tāj and others

This internal urge for fraternity between the two leading communities in India became manifest in Literature as well—Vernacular and Classical The Dohās etc in Hindi of great religious leaders—both

consequence of this intermixture of both the creeds, the Husaini Brahmanas of Rajputana are found following Mahomedan practices though mostly they follow Hindu customs and rituals, again, the Imam Shahi sect are found following the authority of the Atharva veda and of Niskalanka The great saints advocating Sufiism such as Nizāmuddin Aulia, Fariduddin Shakarganj Karim Shāh, Shāh Inayat Shāh Kalandar were either initiated to religious life by Hindu saints or themselves initiated a large number of Hindus to religious life, as a consequence Hinduism or Mahomedanism as a creed mattered little to them The celebrated saint Bābā Fattu of Kangra was a disciple of Hindu saint Gulab He was worshipped alike both by the Hindus and Mahomedans of the Punjab The Khojas and the followers of Musā Suhāg are tremendously influenced by Hinduism while the Piran Panthins worship Nis kalanka The Muslim lady Tāj was a great devotee of Krsna and wrote many songs on Him as Supreme Soul In spiritual life there was thus a great synthesis between Hinduism and Mahomedanism—Hindus being the disciples of Muslims and vice versa—all caring for Truth and Sadhanā, not for the external superfluities of Religion This was the time when new saints like Satyapira were worshipped by both the communities And this was the time when caste system was abhorred and wilfully violated.

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This internal urge for fraternity between the two *leading communities in India became manifest in* Literature as well—Vernacular and Classical The Dohās etc in Hindi of great religious leaders—both

Mahomedans and Hindus, are the sources of inspiration and devotion in religious life of the members of both the communities.

Bengali in particular was much enriched by this inner urge for a true religious life—irrespective of caste and creed. Quite a large number of Mahomedan writers—some of them poets of a high order—contributed substantially to Bengali Literature. They were mostly inspired by the Kṛṣṇa cult as preached by Śrī Caitanya; again, there were many who wrote on other subjects. Śrī Caitanya disdained racial or social distinction.[1] The result was that even rulers like Husain Shah soon became attracted to him[2]. Mahomedans all over Bengal *not only enjoyed the Padāvalīs but*

1. Yavana Haridāsa was one of his favourite disciples. Again, Buddhimanta Khān became a personal attendant of Śrī Caitanya. Vṛndāvanadāsa in his Caitanya-Bhāgavata says:—

बुद्धिमन्त खाने प्रभु दिला आलिङ्गन।
ताहार आनन्द अति अकथ्य कथन॥ 10th chapter

The Caitanya-caritāmṛta, chapter 10, records:—

श्रीचैतन्येर अतिप्रिय बुद्धिमन्त खान।
आजन्म आज्ञाकारी तिहँ ो सेवक प्रधान॥

Buddhimanta accompanied him to Nīlācala as well:—

चलिलेन बुद्धिमन्त खान महाशय।
आजन्म चैतन्य आज्ञा याँहार विषय॥ 9th chapter

2. ये हुसेन साहा सर्व उडिष्यार देशे।
देवमूर्ति भाङ्गिलेक देउल विशेषे।
हेन यवनेओ मानिलेक गौरचन्द्र॥

themselves became the votaries of the Muse. Nasir Māhmud,[1] Fakir Habib,[2] Saiyad Martujā,[3]

1. Nasir Māhmud dedicates himself to the holy feet of Śrī Kṛṣṇa :—

आगम निगम वेद-सार, लीला ये करत गोठ विहार।
नथीर मामुद करत आश, चरणे शरण दानवि॥

His Pada of which the above is the end has been included in the Pada-kalpa-taru of Vaiṣṇavadāsa.

2. He, too, cannot live without Kṛṣṇa :—

फकिर हबिब बले, कानुरे देखिनु भासे,
येन शशी पूर्ण उदय।
हेन मन करे हिया, कानुरे समुखे थइया
निरवधि देखहुँ सदाय॥

3. The following Pada of Saiyad Martujā included in the Pada-kalpa-taru of Vaiṣṇavadāsa is indeed grand :—

श्याम बँधु, आमार पराण तुमि।
कोन् शुभदिने देखा तोमा सने
पासरिते नारि आमि॥
यखन देखिये ओ चाँद-वदने
धैरय धरिते नारि।
अभागीर प्राण करे आनुचान्
दण्डे दशवार मरि॥
मोरे कर दया देह पदछाया
शुन शुन पराण कानु।
कुल शील सब भासाइनु जले
न जीयब तुया विनु॥

Here the poet himself becomes a woman for 'higher spiritual blessedness' and one is naturally reminded of Cardinal Newman's statement '—"If thy soul wants to attain the higher spiritual blessedness, it must become a woman, yes, however manly thou mayst be among men".

Fatan,[1] Cānd Kāji,[2] etc have sung the praise of Krsna and Rādhā as enthusiastically and religiously, as gracefully

Cp also—St, Juan—"Make myself thy bride. I will rejoice in nothing till I am in thy arms." His Padas on the description of Krṣṇa, Māna, Bhāva-sammelana, etc, too are very beautiful

1. Fatan in one of his Padas depicts Rādhā in separation. Rādhā says —

आर मोर एकि परमाद हइल।
छटफट करे हिया   कह ना बँधुरे याइया
कि दिया किवा गुण कैल ॥
जीते मोर नाहि साध   मिछामिछि परिवाद
मिछा पाके ठेकिया रैनु।
एमन करम मोर,   कलङ्कर नाहि ओर,
सहिते ना पारि आर   कृपा करि कर पार,
जनम अवधि दु ख पाइनु ॥
अधम फतनेर साध,   क्षम प्रभु अपराध
राङ्गा पाय शरण लैनु ॥

2 The picture of Radhā in love as found below is indeed beautiful —

बाँशी बाजान जानना
असमय बाजाओ बाँशी पराण माने ना।
यखन आमि बैसा थाकि गुरुजनार काछे।
तुमि नाम धइरा बाजाओ बाँशी, आर आमि मइरि लाजे ॥
ओपार ह'ते बाजाओ बाँशी, एपार हइते शुनि।
आर अभागिया नारी हाम हे साँतार नाहि जानि ॥
ये झाडेर बाँशेर बाँशी, से झाडेर लागि पाँओ।
जडे मूले उपाडिया यमुनाय भासाँओ ॥
चाँद काजि बले बाँशी शुने झुरे मरि।
जीमु ना जीमु ना आमि ना देखिले हरि ॥

and sweetly as possible. Alirājā,[1] Ākbar Sāhā,[2] Kabīr,[3]

1. He flourished somewhere near Feni in Chittagong. One of his Padāvalis ends as follows :—

ये शुने तोमार वशी   से घड देवेर श्रंशी
प्रचारि कहिते वासि भय।
गृहवासे किवा साध   वशी मोर प्राणनाथ
गुरुपदे अलिराजा कय॥

2. One of his Padas is devoted to the description of the physical charm of Caitanyadeva :—

जिउ जिउ मोर मन चोर गोरा।
आपहि नाचत आपना रसे मोरा॥ध्रु॥
खोल करताल बाजे झिकि झिकिया।
आनन्दे भकत नाचे लिकि लिकिया॥
पद दुइ चारि चलु नट नटिया।
थिर नाहि होयत आनन्दे मातोयालिया॥
ऐछन पहुके याहु बलिहारि।
साह आकबर तोर प्रेम भिखारी॥

3. He depicts an excellent picture of Rādhā followed by Kṛṣṇa in course of the sports during Holi :—

वरज किशोरी फागु खिलत रङ्गे।
चुया-चन्दन,   आबीर गोलाब
देयत श्यामेर अङ्गे॥
फागु हाते करि   फिरत श्रीहरि
फिरि फिरि बोलत राइ।
घुमट उठामेँ   वयान छपायत
घेरि घेरि येसे मेघसे चाँद लुकाइ॥
ललिता एक सखी,   फागु हाते करि
देयत कानु नयान।
वृकभानु किशोरी   दुहुँ बाहु धरि
मारत श्याम वयान॥
आओर एक सखी,   जाउ जाउ करि
कोहा लागाओ आबीर।
कमरि फागु लेइ,   कान श्याम घेरि घेर देयत
हा हा करत कबीर॥

Sekh Bhikhan,[1] Sekh Jālāl, Sekhlāla, etc are also poets of no mean order They have written on various Mood types of women as described in the Alamkāra and Kāma Śāstras with particular reference to Rādhā and also on Krsna as Supreme Soul and Sri Caitanya as an incarnation of God

1 Rādhā in her "Khaṇḍitā" mood is depicted nicely in one of his Padas Kṛṣṇa passed the night somewhere else and naturally—Radhā's wrath knows no bounds She takes Kṛṣṇa to task —

सत्राइ वले राधार पराण कानाइ।
तुमि रजनी वञ्चिले कोन ठाँइ ॥ध्रु॥
केमन बानाले चूड़ा, श्रवणे दुलितेछे
मेलिते नार दुटि आँखि।
हय ना मधुरा गति कि कव चूड़ार भीति
श्याम अङ्गे लागियाछे साखि॥
कुङ्कुम कस्तूरी आर, सुगन्धि ताम्बुल,
थुइयाछिनु सियर उपर।
हा हरि हा हरि करि जागिया पोहानु निशि
तुमि छिले काहार मन्दिर॥
सेख भिखन भणे बड दुःख राइयेर मने,
पासरिले पूरव पीरिति।
आमार करम दोषे तुमि थाक अन्य पाशे
हउक येन राधार मिरिति॥

Just as, on the one hand, many Moslems helped the spread of the Hindu Culture and Civilization by honouring their religious sentiments and ideas, by following many of their rites and rituals, by patronising and contributing to Sanskritic Literature—so, on the other hand, many Hindu devotees and scholars, too, were the torch-bearers of Islamic Culture and Civilization, by preaching the innermost truth of Islam and paying homage to the Prophet and Moslem saints, by observing many Moslem practices and by patronising, and contributing to, Persian and Urdu Literature.

Thus, there was a great synthesis of Hindu and Moslem Cultures and Civilizations during Moslem rule in India. It was possible in those days for individuals of different leanings and capacities to follow the creeds and pursue the course of studies that suited them best, without communal bias and social bar. Otherwise, there could not have been so many Moslem devotees of Hindu saints, etc. and so many Mahomedan scholars in Sanskritic studies just as there could not have been numerous Hindu disciples of Moslem saints and votaries of Islamic Learning. If this could happen even during an age when the relation between the two communities was that between the ruler and the ruled, there is no inner reason why it should not be the case to-day also, when no such relationship exists.

MUSLIM PATRONAGE TO SANSKRITIC LEARNING

It is well-known that the Moslem rulers of India were great patrons of Learning and Fine Arts. But the fact that many of them liberally patronised Sankritic Culture and Learning as well, is not generally known. Their courts were adorned with Sanskrit scholars and writers of high repute who got every encouragement, monetary and otherwise, from their royal patrons. Unfortunately, many valuable records of their scholarly *achievements are irreparably lost to us and the surviving* literature also is available only in MSS. scattered all over India and outside. Fortunately, however, the literature that has outstood the cruel ravages of time is not meagre and it enables us to have a clear idea as to how in spite of linguistic and religious differences, many Moslem rulers of India were prone to extend their best support to the development of Hindu Culture and Civilization. This spirit of mutual tolerance and reverence for the culture and creed of each other alone can ensure a permanent bond of friendship and collateral progress of the two principal communities of India. That is why it is essential for us to investigate into the cultural advancement of the Hindus during Moslem rule in India.

Of the Sanskrit poets who adorned the courts of the

Moslem rulers, three of the greatest are Bhānukara, Akbarīya-Kālidāsa and Jagannātha Panditarāja. In this work I shall first give brief accounts of their lives and literary activities on the basis of the informations collected from the various unpublished MSS of their works, anthologies preserving some of their verses, etc.

Of the Mohomedan rulers who liberally patronised Sanskrit poets and scholars, the foremost are Shahabuddin, Nizām Shāh, Sher Shāh, Ākbar, Shāh Jahan, Muddāfar Shāh, Burhān Khān and others. Some of the poets patronised by them are,—apart from Bhānukara, Akbarīya Kālidāsa and Jagannātha Panditrāja,—Amrtadatta, Pundarīka Vitthala, Harinārāyana Miśra, Vamśidhara, Laksmīpati and so on Short accounts of the lives and literary activities of these poets also are given below.[1]

The arrangement followed here is chronological.

BHĀNUKARA

Bhānukara is not only of the earliest of the poets mentioned above but also seems to have enjoyed the widest popularity as a poet. The Rasika-jivana of Gadādhara Bhatta, Sabhyālamkarana of Govindajit, Padya venī of Venīdatta, Padyāmrta-tarangini of Haribhāskara, Subhāsita hārāvali of Hari Kavi and Subhā

1. See also the second volume of this Series which will soon be published

sitasāra-samuccaya the last two of which have not been published as yet contain about 160 verses of Bhānukara. The Padyaracanā published in the Kāvya-mālā Series alone contains 180 verses many of which are not found in the above six unpublished anthological works.

LIFE AND DATE

Bhānukara vs. Bhānudatta and personal history

The evidence of the anthological works is in support of the identity of Bhānukara and Bhānudatta, author of the Gīta-Gaurīśa and its tippana, Kāvya-dīpikā, Rasa-mañjarī and its commentary as well as Rasa-taranginī all of which are available in print and also of the Kumāra-bhārgavīya (a campū based on the Purānas), Alamkāra-tilaka and Śrngāra dipikā which are as yet unpublished[1]. Quite a large number of verses quoted under the name of Bhānukara are traced in the Rasa-mañjarī,[2]

1. Kumāra Bh., India Office Library MS. 1540. Alamkāra T., Tanjore MSS, Catalogue, IX. 1407 and Mysore, 295. Śrngāra D., Cat. Cat. I. 661.

2. अय रेया-कुञः, etc.=SA. 234=RM. 21, p 50; आजन्म किस, etc.=SSS. 836=RM. 4, p. 9, एते वारि-कणान्, etc =SA 270=RM. 29, p. 65, कान्ते कनक-जम्बीरं, etc.=SA. 327=RM. 112, p 138; चन्द्रोदये चन्दन०, etc.=SA. 303=SSS 178=RM 79, p 141, तमोजटाले, etc.=SA. 326r v. 111, p. 188, त्वं दृति निरगाः, etc.=SSS 606=RM 33, p 75, त्वं पीयूष, etc.=SA, 312=RM 100, p 166, दासाय भवन, etc.=SA. 246=RM. 24, p 57, दुग्धं दीर्घतरं, etc.=SHV. 1944=RM. 39, p. 91; दूती विपद्गुपागता=SSS 177=RM 75, p. 136, दृष्ट्वा प्राङ्गण, etc =SA.

Gīta-Gauriśa,[1] and Rasa-taraṅgiṇī of Bhānudatta[2]. (2) The same verses are found in different important anthologies under the names of Bhānukara and Bhānudatta. (3) One of Bhānukara's verses (Serial no. 789) has been quoted by Veṇīdatta in his Padya.veṇī

273=RM. 32, p. 72; नखक्षतमुरःस्थले, etc.=SSS- 752=RM. 11, p. 25; नायं मुञ्चति, etc.=SA. 690=RM. 86, p. 149; निद्रालु-केकि°, etc.=SA. 267=RM. 28, p. 63; नीरात्तीरमुपागता, etc.=SA. 189=RM. 5, p. 11; पल्लीनामधिपस्य, etc.=SSS. 181=RM. 81, p. 142; माला बालाम्बुज°, etc.=SSS. 582=RM. 41, p. 94; रभसादपि, etc.=SA. 292=RM. 78, p. 239; लोलालिपुञ्ज, etc.=SA. 206=RM. 12, p. 30; शङ्का-शृङ्खलितेन, etc.=PV. 464=RM. 105, p. 172; शून्यं कुञ्ज-गृहं, etc.=PV. 361=RM. 56, p. 144; संस्पृश्य स्तन°=SSS. 20=RM. 10, p. 22; स्वातं वारिद°, etc.=SA. 288=PV. 363=RM. 62, p. 121; हस्ते धृतापि, etc.=SSS. 825=RM 7, p. 15.

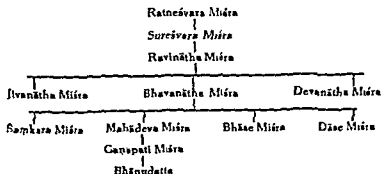
1. आत्मीयं चरणं दधाति=Padya-racanā, p. 72, v. 3=Rasa-mañjarī, 1=Gīta-Gaurīpati, p. 90, 2; अकरोः किमु नेत्र-शोभितमानं, etc.=Padya-racanā, p. 53. x. 5=Rasa-mañjarī, v. 51=Gīta-Gaurīpati, p. 146; जीवेन तुलितं प्रेम, etc.=Padya-racanā, p. 42, v. 18=Gīta-Gauriśa, p. 18, 4; यदेतल्लावण्यं, etc.=Padya-racanā, p 7, v. 38—with slight alterations in reading=Gīta-Gauriśa, p. 48, 7.

2. विना सार्थं कोऽयं समुद्यति, etc.=Rasika-jīvana, fol=Padya-racanā, p. 33, v. 25=Subhāṣita-hārāvali, v. 89=Rasa-taraṅginī *Benares ed.*, p. 14; भित्तौ भित्तौ प्रतिफलगतं, etc.=Padya-racanā, p. 72, v. 21=RT., p. 42; निष्पीते कलशोद्भवेन जलधौ, etc.=Padya-racanā, p. 21, v. 32=Sūkti-sundara,=RT., p. 45a; सौन्दर्यस्य मनोभवेन गणना, etc.=Rasika-jīvana=RT., p. 53; अनुवनमनुयान्तं बाष्प-वारि, etc.=PR. p. 86, v. 19=RT., p. 77; भूयादेष सतां हिताय, etc.=PR, p. 2, v. 10 दिव्यद्रहेर्मुख-कुहरे, etc.=PR., p. 87, v. 26=RT. p. 81a.

as 'Gaṇapatiputra-Bhānukarasya'[1] and, from the last verse of the Rasamañjarī[2] etc. as well as from the Pañjīs of Mithilā,[3] we come to know that Bhānudatta was the son of Gaṇapati. (4) Moreover Bhānudatta refers to Nizāma-Dharaṇīpāla in verse 121 of his Rasa-mañjarī[4] and in the anthologies several verses ascribed to Bhānukara are devoted to the eulogies of Nizam Shah.

Thus it seems that Bhānukara is really identical with Bhānudatta. His father's name was Gaṇapati as given in the Padya-veṇī, Rasa-mañjarī as well as the Pañjīs of Mithilā, etc. Unfortunately, however, nothing is known about his mother, early life etc.

1. पयोधननिधेः, etc.
2. तातो यस्य गणेश्वरः कवि-कुलालङ्कार-चूडामणि-
   देशो यस्य विदेहभूः सुरसरित्-कल्लोल-किर्मीरिता ।
   पद्येन स्व-कृतेन तेन कविना श्रीभानुना योजिता
   वाग्देवी-श्रुति पारिजात-कुसुम-स्पर्धाकरी मञ्जरी ॥
3. The Pañjīs of Mithilā furnish the following lineage of Bhānucandra :



4. P. 190, Benares ed.

Bhānudatta himself gives his own genealogy in the Kumāra bhārgaviya which is quite in agreement with the evidence furnished by the Pañjis of Mithilā except that in the former Viśvanatha is represented as the son of Sureśvara and Ravināatha as the grandson of Sureśvara, not his son [1]

Date.

In one of his verses Bhānukara eulogises Sher Shah[2] As Sher Shah ruled from 1540-1545 A D, it is evident that Bhānukara flourished in the first half of the sixteenth century, if not a bit earlier.

Again, two verses of Bhānukara devoted to the praise of one mighty ruler Krsna are preserved in the Padyaracanā of Lasmana Bhatta Ānkolakara[3] This Krsna was, most probably, emperor Krsnadeva Rāya of Vijayanagara who ruled from 1509 1530 A D

1 See India Office Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. Vol vii, p 1540

2 श्लोकार्धें वा तदर्धें यदि हि विनिहित दूषण दुर्दुरूढे
कि नश्छिन्न तदा स्यात् कवि-कुल-विदुषा काव्यकोटीश्वराणाम् ।
वाहाश्चेद् गन्धवाहाधिक-छभग रया पञ्चषा काया खञ्जा
का हानि शेरसाह क्षितिप-कुलमणारश्वकाटीश्वरस्य ॥

3 (a) कृष्ण समर-सतृष्ण दृष्टवतो विष्टरश्रवस ।
राजन्य जन्म मूले भुज-मूले [भान्ति] पुलक-मुकुलानि ॥

(b) प्रस्थान रतिमन्दिरात् कमलिनी बन्धोरपि प्रत्यय
काकु केलिविधि विनाऽपि चरण-न्यास पृथिव्यामपि ।
कि च क्लान्तमतालवृन्तपवन प्रत्यङ्गमालिङ्गति
द्रष्टव्य किमतोऽपि कृष्ण-नृपते प्रत्यर्थि-वामभ्रुवाम् ॥

In several verses[1] Bhānukara eulogises one Nizam Shah. Either of the two Nizams who were ruling in India in the first half of the sixteenth century may be referred to by Bhānukara in his verses. One was Boorhan Nizam Shah I and the other Nizam Khan, later on known as Sikander Lodi (1489-1517 A.D.). It is more likely that the former is meant as in some of the verses the Nizam is also addressed as Nizam Shah. Now, Nizam Shah was a general title of the rulers of the Nizam Shahi dynasty whose ruling period extended from 1497 A.D. to 1637 A.D. The particular Nizam Shah who was ruling during the period of Sher Shah's reign was Boorhan Nizam Shah I who ruled from 1510 to 1553 A.D. As he ruled about 43 years, probably the majority of the verses of Bhānukara referring to Nizam Shah would refer to him. The poet referring to Sher Shah as ruler (1940-45 A.D.) cannot be young in age as he professes in the same verse that he himself composed a very large number of verses by that time. Boorhan Nizam Shah already ruled for 39 years when Sher Shah was crowned king. He ruled for 13 years more after the accession of Sher Shah to the throne. Unless the poet was very long-lived, he could not probably praise any other living ruler of the Nizam Ṣhahi dynasty except Boorhan Nizam Shah I.

1. See under the heading *Patrons of Bhānukara.*

In three of his verses[1] Bhānukara refers to one king Vīrabhānu who is represented as lording it over the kings of Delhi, Orissa, Bengal and Gujrat There were several kings of the same name who ruled before the time of the poet himself[2] and therefore he could not refer to them as living rulers in his verses The reference may be to king Bhānu of Kacchapa dynasty, father of Bhagavantadāsa and grandfather of Mādhava-

1 (a) लङ्का धामनि वीरभानु नृपते प्रेक्ष्य प्रतापोदय
प्रत्यागारमघोर-नीरजदृशो भूयो हुताश-भ्रमात् ।
क्षुभ्यद्धाम्नि विधूत पाणि विगलन्मुक्तामयि प्रस्खलद
बाष्प श्रेणि चलोल-वेणि दयितं कण्ठ-स्थले बिभ्रति ॥
Padya veni, Ms , v 64 and Sukti sundara, Ms v. 102
(b) भेरी भाङ्कृतिभिस्तुरङ्ग-निनद कुम्भीन्द्रकोलाहलै
प्रस्थाने तव वीरभान दलितं ब्रह्माण्ड-भाण्डोदरम् ।
आघाय ज्वलति प्रताप-दहने रङ्गै पुनर्वेधसा
तारानायक-तारका सुरसरिद्व्याजाद्दिवाऽऽयोजितम् ॥
Padya veni Ms , v 114, Sukti sundara Ms v 150
(c) दिल्लीशो द्वारदेशे नमति गजपतिस्तत्परस्तादुपास्ते
गौडेन्द्रो नम्रमूर्धा तदनु नरपतिर्गुर्जरोर्वीश्वरोऽपि ।
भुत्वैवं वन्दि वृन्दादवनत वदनो गौरवं तत्र कुर्वन्
वीर श्रीवीरभानो स्वयसि पुलकं वीर-लक्ष्मीकपोले ॥
Sāra samgraha of Sambhudāsa Pandita Ms of RASB, 31A

2 See List of Inscriptions and sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India by Robert Sewell Madras 1884, p 47 (Vīrabhānudeva inscriptions are dated 1335, 1237-1240 A D) Inscriptions of *Madras Presidency by Rangācārya, vol III,* p 2055, etc The Ganjam (274) and Vizagapattam inscriptions (96 97) of Virabhānu are dated Saka 1275 (1353 A D) and 1298 (1376 A D) respectively

simha and Mānasimha Mādhavasimha as the patron of Pundarika Vitthala, author of the Rāga mañjarī has been referred to by him in his work.[1] The same work also mentions that Mādhavasimha the patron and his brother Mānasimha were great favourites of emperor Akbar who ruled from 1556 to 1605 A D So chronologically there is not much difficulty in Bhānukara's referring to the grandfather of Mādhavasimha, favourite of Akbar. But it is more probable that by Vīrabhānu, Bhānukara really refers to Vaghela Vīrabhānu[2] of Rewah (1540-1555 A D) who was married to Sukumāradevī and father of Rāmacandra who ruled from 1555 to 1592 A D and was a contemporary of Akbar. There is no chronological difficulty, again, reference to Vaghela kings in the verses of Sanskrit poets of the sixteenth century A D. and the liberal

1. श्रीमत्कच्छप-वंश-दीपक-महाराजाधिराजेश्वर-
तेजःपुञ्ज महाप्रताप-निकरो भानु क्षितौ राजते।

2. Imperial Gezeteer of India, vol XXI, pp 279ff. In a MS of Somadeva's Kathā sarit Sāgara copied by Rūpani who enjoyed the patronage of Bhāvasimha, one of the descendants of Vaghela Vīrabhānu of Rewah, the lineage of Vīrabhānu is given vide MM Haraprasad Shastri's Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, vol VII For a further reference to Vīrabhānu of Rewah, see Pradyotana-Bhattacharya's commentary Saradāgama on Candrāloka (Kashi Sanskrit Series, No 75). The account given here is slightly confusing

patronage extended by Vaghela kings to Sanskrit scholars, confirm our conjecture.

All the above evidences lead to the conclusion that Bhānukara or Bhānudatta flourished during the first half of the sixteenth century A.D. Patrons of the poet were Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya of Vijayanagara, Vīrabhānu or Rewah, Nizam Shah as well as Sher Shah.

Another evidence helps the positive determination of the lower limit of the date of Bhānukar or Bhānudatta. In connection with showing that some poets wrongly use "Puratah" in the sense of "in front of", Jagannātha quotes in his Rasa-Gaṅgādhara[1] the very first line of the Rasa-mañjarī of Bhānudata—आत्मीयं चरणं दधाति पुरतो निम्नोन्नतायां भुवि । Jagannātha *Paṇḍitarāja*, author of the Asaf-vilāsa was connected with the court of Shah Jahan who ascended the throne in 1627 A.D. Therefore, Bhānukara quoted by Jagannātha must have flourished before that date.

Patrons of Bhānukara

Bhānukara was liberally patronised both by Hindu and Molem rulers of his time. As we have seen, he adorned the court of king Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya of Vijayanagara, Vīrabhānu of Rewah, Sher Shah and Nizam

1. इदमप्यन्यस्तैरेव वाचकोपमेय-लुप्तायामुदाहरणं निरमीयत, etc., pp. 271-272 of the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara with Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa's commentary, Benares ed.

Shah. Therefore, he seems to have been wandering from place to place, from one court to the other, although we have no means of knowing the exact period of his stay in each.

He appears to have a very great respect for Nizam Shah as he devoted as many as nine verses to his eulogy. Most probably, he wrote many more verses in his praise which are now lost to us. In his verse devoted to the description of the physical charm of the Nizam[1], the poet fancies that the eye of the lovely-browed one, unable to distinguish between Kāma and Nizam, approaches the ear for its help in the matter. In another,[2] he declares that the beautiful foot of the Nizam was made by the Creator for being placed upon the head of the wife of his enemy; the parting line of the hair, the vermilion-dust and the *kundas* on the head represent the foot of the Nizam with shooting rays and beautiful nails.

In one verse[3] he praises Nizam Shah for making magnificent gifts. In order to keep a record of his gifts, Brahmā used the Mandākinī as a piece of chalk and drew a long line on the floor of his house Puṣkara. Brahmā was on the look out for another person at least who would be Nizam's rival in the award of gifts. As he could not find out any, he

1. Padya-racanā, 17.6   2. Padya-racanā, 16, 4
3. Padya-veṇī, MS., v. v. 100

put a dot by the side of that line which is nothing but the moon.

In one verse[1] Bhānukara gives a glorious description of the march of Nizam Shah for conquest. When he marches out, the earth faints away under the pressure of, and on account of the physical torture caused by, the hoofs of horses. Therefore the sea terribly perturbed and agitated in roaring waves, sprinkles water on her. The Lady presiding over the quarters flutters the flag, generating violent wind; and the dust-storm dashes towards the sky in order to ask the divine physician Āśvina about remedy for recovery from swoon.

In the verse on the sword of the Nizam[2], the king is highly praised for his military skill. His sword is so handled that it instantaneously kills innumerable mighty elephants of his enemies who are consequently vanquished in a moment.

In the verse devoted to the victory of Nizam in battle,[3] the poet says that when the Nizam casts his angry look at his enemies, they all break atwain; even the sun high above begins to tremble and in order to save his own skin, has recourse to the banner of the all-conquering Nizam.

1. Padyāmṛta-taraṅginī, MS., v. 91; Padya-venī. MS., v. 113; Rasika-jīvana, MS., fol. 18.
2. Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī, 85; Sūkti-sundara, v. 134.
3. Padya-veṇī, Ms., v. 132..

In the verse on the flag of the Nizam[1] the poet's fancy takes a lofty flight. He assumes that the flag of the Nizam is nothing but the tongue of the earth stretched out on account of the heavy pressure of the army on the same. Similarly, in the verse on the prowess of the Nizam[2] On account of the excessive heat of the king's prowess, the gold all over the universe, even of the Sumeru, melts, as a consequence, the stairs of Indra's palace situated on it fall down, even the sun sinks within the melting gold again and again and the women there are terribly terrified.

In one versre[3] Bhānukara describes the world-wide fame of his patron. Brahmā is engaged in making verses on the glorious deeds of the Nizam with the help of a chalk The long syllables in the verse stand for the curved lines representing the lunar disc, the conch, the jasmine and the swan and the short ones for the lotus stalk, the snake, the Mandākinī and the tusks of an elephant

Unfortunately, only one verse of the poet in

1 Padyāmṛta taraṅgiṇī v 15, Sukti sundara, v 143 and Padya veni, v 151

2 Padya veni, v 69 and Sūkti sundara, u 105, Rasika-jivana, MS No 140 (Kāvya) of Calcutta Sanskrit College, fol 13.

3 Padya racanā, 10 8 and Rasika jivana, Ms No 140 (Kāvya) of Calcutta Sanskrit College, fol 15

praise of Sher Shah is left to us.[1] Here, he says that it matters little to a poet of his standing who has to his credit innumerable verses if in a verse, or one half of it, the fastidious manage to find some fault or other just as it matters little to Sher Shah if out of crores of horses vying in motion with wind, some five or six happen to be lame or one-eyed.

BHĀNUKARA AS A POET*

The verses of Bhānukara collected from unpublished anthological works may be classified as follows:—

I. *Gods and incarnations of Viṣṇu* (6 verses).

1. Gaṇapati...SA. I (See also Bhānu Miśra for another verse on Gaṇapati, PT. v. 7, p. 3).
2. Śiva...SHV. 27
3. Kṛṣṇa...PV. 866
4. Varāha...PV. 853=SHV. 46 (Viṣṇu)
5. Paraśurāma...PV. 858
6. Buddha...PV. 894=SHV. 74 (Viṣṇu)

II. *Kings* (16 verses)

1. Nizam or Nizam Shah...6 verses: PT. 85=SS. 134 (description of sword); PV. 69=SS. 105 (description of prowess); PV. 100 (description of gifts); PV. 132 (description of the flag);

1. SHV. v. 468.

* For additional verses in the Padya-racanā, see Verses of Bhānukara quoted in the Padyaracanā, p. clxi of the Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī.

PT 84=SS. 143=PV 131 (description of the flag), PT. 91=SS 198 (description of the battle field)

2 Sher Shah 1 verse SHV 468

3 Vīrabhānu 3 verses PV. 64=SS. 102 (description of prowess) SS. 150=PV. 114 (description of the marching of the king) The former reads वीरभान and the latter gives the reading वीरवर्यं । One verse in the Sāra samgraha of Śambhudāsa दिल्लीशो द्वार देशे, etc.

3 Contd ? 2 verses PV 161 (the flight of the enemy [यस्य प्रौढतर दहन ज्वालाभि,, etc may refer to वीरभानु] SS. 163 (description of the battle), the word भानु in the verse may have a bearing upon the name of the king

4 Kings in general 3 verses PT. 107 (the flight of the enemy), SS 172 (the city of the enemy), PT. 95=SS 156 (description of the battle), SS 131 and 132 (the assertion of a hero vanquishing others)

III *Sentiments* (5 verses)

1 Karuna PV. 793

2 Raudra PV 810

3. Śānta PV. 812

Śāntasys paścāttāpa PV. 815

Śantasya PV. 819

IV. *Women*

a. Vayaḥ-saṃdhi...3 verses:. SA. 189; SA. 192; SSS. 799 and SSS. 798

b. Taruṇaṃ vayaḥ ..4 verses: SSS. 817, 825, 835; SA. 199, 836

2. Beauty of features...(12 verses)

a. Face...2 verses:] PT. 136=SHV. 1637; SHV. 1647

b. Mark on the forehead...SA. 74

c. Eyes...SA. 80

d. Arm-pit...SA. 115

e. Romāvalī...2 verses:. SA. 137 and SA. L39

f. The middle of the body...2 verses: SA. 134; SA. 135

g. Thighs...PV. 199

h. General description...2 verses: SHV. 1749; SA. 62; SA. 53 (suppleness of the body).

3. Types...(31 verses)

a. Paroḍhā...SA. 234

Sāmānya-vanitā...2 verses: SA. 273; PV. 321

Ativiśrabdha-navoḍhā...PV. 305

Prema-garvitā...2 verses:] SA. 278 and SA. 279

Virahiṇī...SHV. 1944

,, -anutāpa...SHV. 1933

Virahiṇī avasthā-varṇana ..SHV 1952
,, pralāpa ..SA. 697
Māninī (heading Bhartuḥ śuśrūṣā in the SA., it is really a verse on Māninī) SA. 222

Vāsaka sajjitā SA. 402
Karkaśa PV. 387
Kalahāntaritā SA 756
Vipralabdhā PV. 361
Utkā SA 288 = PV. 363
Madhyā Dhīrāh SA. 206
Kriyā vidagdhā SA. 246
Vṛtta surata gopana. .SA. 236
Vartisyamana surata gopanā SA 238
Vṛtta vartisyamāna surata-gopanā . SA 240
Kulaṭā SA 258, SHV. 1851
Kulaṭopadeśa.. SA 260
Bhāvi sthānābhāva śaṃkayā SA 267
Bharturgamanānumānena . SA 270
Anuśayānā SA 264
Abhisārikā samcāra kathana SSS 177
Jyotsnābhisārikā SA. 303 = SSS. 178
Divābhisārikā. SSS 181
Dūti ,,

(a) Nāyakasyāgre Dūty uktiḥ SSS 582
(b) Dūty-upahāsa.. SSS 606

V. *Men* (4 verses)

1. Śṛṅgāra-rasopayogino Nāyaka-bhedaḥ tatra Anukulaḥ...SA. 317
2. Śṛṅgāra-rasopayogino Nāyaka-bhedaḥ tatra Dakṣiṇaḥ...SA. 318
3. Viyoginaḥ pralāpaḥ...SSS. 564
4. Kupuruṣaḥ...PV. 766

VI. *Love* (14 verses)

Vacana-vyaṅga-samāgama...SA. 326
Ceṣṭā-vyaṅga-samāgama...2 verses: SA. 327 and SA. 328
Gamana-vighnopāya ..SA. 690
Surata-varṇana...3 verses:, SA. 469=SSS. 713; SA. 470; SSS. 714; SSS. 727
Ratārambha...2 verses: SSS. 706 and SSS. 707
Ratāvasāna ..2 verses: SSS. 751 and SSS. 752
Viparīta-surata...SA. 478=SSS. 737
Parakīyā-rata-praśaṃsā...SA. 464
Sama...SA. 672

VII. *Nature* (8 verses)

Morning...2 verses: SSS. 13 and SSS. 20
Midday...SA. 529
Evening...SA. 348; PV. 560; SSS. 148
Moon-rise...PV. 573
" " ...2 verses: SSS. 192 and SSS. 193
Darkness...SSS. 152

VIII. *Seasons* (13 verses)

Summer...3 verses: SSS. 327; PV. 615 and PV. 616

Rainy-season...SV. 574

Autumn...SSS. 404=SA. 591

Hemanta...2 verses: PV. 649=SSS. 423=SA. 599; PV. 650=SSS. 424=SA. 601

Winter...3 verses: SA. 610; SSS. 451; PV. 656

Spring...2 verses: PV. 602; SA. 617

IX. *Religion: Devotion* (1 verse)

Kīrtana...PT. 266

X. *Holy places, rivers, etc.* (4 verses)

Veṇī (Triveṇi)...PV. 877

Maṇikarṇikā...PT. 42

Lake...PV. 726

Tapovana (attributed to both Gaṇapati and Bhānukara)...PV. 665

XI. *Anyoktis* (3 verses)

Cuckoo...PV. 690

Parrot...PV. 691

Lion...PV. 707

Cloud...PV. 717

Moon...PV. 741

XII. *Miscellaneous* (6 verses)

Khadyota...SA. 558
Bhramari-krīḍā...SA. 173=SSS. 113
Vana-keli...2 verses:, SSS. 82 and SSS. 83
Kavi-varṇana...PV. 789 (Here Bhānukara is expressly stated to be the son of Gaṇapati).
Vidyā...PV. 881 (Here his name is given as Bhānukara Miśra; PT., however, attributes the verse to Bhāskara).

Bhānukara as a poet

That Bhānukara or Bhānucandra *Miśra was a* poet of a high order can by no means be doubted; that he was very popular is manifest from the evidence furnished by the authors of the anthologies composed after the sixteenth century A.D. This extreme popularity enjoyed by him is due to his depth of thought and analytic power. He was a great rhetorician and naturally, his writing is very rich from the rhetorical point of view. He has dealt with various subjects as shown above; in almost every subject, there are beautiful verses which at once arrest our attention. Only a few are noticed below.

In his verse on the Buddha, he says that when the Buddha stood against the Vedas (Vedic rituals), the Om-kāra fled off, leaving aside its dot (bindu). Then it had come into the possession of Śiva who used it as

a trident (really on the top of it) and the dot began to shine in the hand of Śrikṛṣṇa as the disc Sudarśana.[1] Here the poet suggests that Śiva and Kṛṣṇa (Viṣṇu) came into prominence as gods after the wane of Buddhism in India. His picture of the earth as it was when it emerged out of the ocean and hung on the teeth of the Boar, is also interesting.[2]

His verses on the Nizam[3] are of paramount interest establishing as they do a good relationship between the poet and his patron. This, among other evidences, shows that Mahomedan patronage for Sanskrit learning was not lacking in India in the sixteenth century A.D.

In a verse on the flag of the Nizam the poet assumes that it is nothing but the tongue of the

1. पायाद्बुद्धवपुः, etc.; Subhāsita-hārāvali, MS., v. 74; Padya-veṇi, MS. v. 864 The Padya-veṇī reading is:— माया-यद्ध-कुतूहले ।

[बुद्ध-वर्णनम्]
माया-बद्ध-कुतूहले भगवति व्यालोलयत्यागमा-
नोङ्कारेण भयातुरेण चलितं बिन्दुं विहाय क्वचित् ।
घोङ्कारः कर-पञ्जरं पुरभिदो भेजे त्रिशूलच्छला-
द्बिन्दुश्चक्र-मिषेण कैटभरिपोस्तस्थौ कराम्भोरुहे ॥

2. [वराह-वर्णनम्]
भूयादेष सतां हिताय भगवान् कोलावतारो हरिः
सिन्धोः क्लेदमपास्य यस्य दशन-प्रान्ते नटन्त्या भुवः ।
तारा हारति वारिदस्तिलकति स्वर्वाहिनी माल्यति
क्रोडा-दर्पणति क्षपापतिरहर्देवश्च ताटङ्कति ॥

Subhāṣita-hārāvali MS. v. 46; Padya-veṇī, MS. v. 853.

3. See supplement.

earth stretched out on account of the heavy pressure of the army on the same[1]. In another verse also on the king, Bhānukara's poetic fancy takes a lofty flight. The enemies of the king in heaven feel like fighting on hearing the violent blowing of the conch ; they swing about their hands on the arrows in the form of the eye-brows of the divine-damsels who present themselves for embracing them.[2] In the verse on the march of Vīrabhānu for conquest ; the poet says that the world had a crack in between on account of the sound of drums, neighing of horses and trumpeting of elephants when he started ; (then) the resultant crack was removed by means of borax in the form of the Mandākinī, the moon and stars heated on the fire of the king's prowess.[3] The pun employed by the poet in the verse on the plight of enemies[4] much enhances its beauty.

1. नृपति-निजाम-चमू-चरणार्पण-जनित-प्रभूत-पीडाभिः ।
रचयति बहिरिव रसनामरुणां ध्वज-कैतवादवनिः ॥
PT. 84=PV 131.

2. मह्लैर्भिन्नाः प्रतिनृपतयः शङ्खनादानुदारान्
श्रुत्वा राजन् पुनरपि भुजा-दण्ड-कण्डूतिभाजः ।
आलिङ्गन्त्यास्त्रिदश सुदृशो भ्रू-लतां वीक्ष्य शुभ्रां
चाप-भ्रान्त्या चपल-मनसो हस्तमावर्तयन्ति ॥
PT. 95=SS. 156.

3. भेरी-भाङ्कृतिभिस्तुरङ्ग-निनदै, etc.

4. तादृग्दण्ड-विवर्त-नर्तित-मही-चक्रादपक्रामिताः
क्वापि क्वापि च कण्टकैरुपगता रेखोपरेखा-भ्रमम् ।
यस्य प्रौढतर-प्रताप-तपन-ज्वालाभिरन्ते दिशा-
मापाके निपतन्ति पार्थिव-घटा जीर्यन्ति शीर्यन्ति च ॥ PV. 161

The poet demonstrates the sentiment of tranquility well in one of his verses on the same Nothing appears substantial, he says, when one looks back upon life from a very advanced stage, thus the roaming about of the past appears to be all waste of energy, acquisition of knowledge nothing but provision for wrangling about and love for women all worry due to final separation and nothing more, moreover, a man at that time whole-heartedly cares for a religious life and pines for the past part of life that appears to them almost void.[1] In another verse he longs for worshipping Dāmodara in a creeper bower at Benares, undisturbed by any woman.[2]

All the verses under sections 4-5 could well have been placed under the heading 'Love'. But as the *Nāyakas* or *Nāyikās* are the main objectives of the poet in the verses in question, they have been grouped under the headings—'Women' and 'Men'. Woman is almost synonymous with Love and therefore, it is only natural that out of a collection of 130 verses of a poet, only four verses are devoted to Men in love.

1. क्षोणी-पर्यटनं श्रमाय विदुषां वादाय विद्याऽर्जिता
   मान ध्वंसन-हेतवे परिचितास्ते ते धराधीश्वराः ।
   विश्लेषाय सरोज-सुन्दर-दृशामास्ये कृता स्पृहा
   कुत्रानेन मया प्रयाण-समये नाऽऽराधि नारायणः ॥ PV. 815.
2. परीरम्भारम्भ स्तनपद्मक-पद्माम्बुज-दृशां
   गृहीत्वा स्त्रीणामभिनव-रूपा-गुणमपरम् ।
   कदा काशीमध्ये वन-लता-कुञ्ज कुहरे
   ममस्वामी दामोदर तव पदाम्भोरुहरज ॥ PV. 812.

A beautiful woman at the advent of youth is a marvel and the poet says, even the god of Love on rare occasions finds the Venus influencing his fate[1] and only a person with Bṛhaspati in the eleventh zodiac sign can expect to dally with her.[2]

The eye is a predominant feature of the beauty of a woman; it is more beautiful than a lotus because when God weighs them in a balance, He is required to place Māsas (Phaseolus Radiatus) on the scale of the lotus, the bees representing them as such.[3]

Again, a verse on the middle of a woman's body assigns a fine reason why the middle region is appropriately called a vacuum.[4]

1. प्रातः स्मेर-सरोरुहामयमुपाध्यायो दृशोर्विभ्रमः
पाणिः कोकिल-शाखि पल्लव-सहाध्यायी समुन्मीलति ।
सन्दर्भो वचसां पचेलिम-सुधा-सिद्धान्त-वैतण्डिको
जानीमः कुसुमायुधस्य भगवान् भाग्यालये भार्गवः ॥
SA 198=SSS. 817.

2. वाणी कार्त्तिक-रोहिणीपति-चलत्-पीयूष-कल्लोलिनी
धत्ते दृष्टिरकाल-कुन्दकलिका-लावण्य-लीलायितम् ।
नो जाने गमयिष्यतस्त्र चिरादङ्गे दिनं केलिभिः
कस्य श्रीफल-पीवर-स्तनि भवेदेकादशस्थो गुरुः ॥
SA. 199=SSS. 835.

3. नयनस्य तुलां धत्ते नलिनेन नतभ्रुवः ।
न्यूने च नलिने भृङ्ग-माषानेष विधिर्दधे ॥
SA. 80.

4. तुङ्गाभोगे स्तन-गिरियुगे प्रौढ बिम्बे नितम्बे
सीमा-देशं हरति नृपतौ यौवने जृम्भमाणे ।
मध्यो भीरुः क्वचिदपि ययौ पश्यतोहरायाः
शून्यं मध्यम्पदमिति ततः सर्वतः किंवदन्ती ॥
SA. 135.

Various types of heroines—Svakīyā, Parakīyā, etc. and their mood types such as Mānini, Kalahāntaritā, Utkā, Vipralabdhā, etc. have also been successfully depicted by the poet A lady-love separated from the beloved as a consequence of a quarrel takes it for granted that a man is restless and a woman, on the other hand, steady and sincere and moreover, she argues, there is no reason why two youthful persons should not from time to time quarrel, but why should these wretched creatures—the bee, the Moon, and Madana—be tormenting her all along?[1] The pangs suffered by a separated woman eat into her vitals and she presents a really painful sight[2] but a lady-love longing for reunion at any cost whatsoever presents in herself a much more pitiable object, she indeed goes to any length to recover her lost love[3] and even a stone must melt at her solicitations

1 चलं चेत पुसा सहज-सरलं पङ्कज दृशो
भवत्येवं प्रेम क्वचिदपि कदाचित्तरुणयो ।
दैवज्ञ भृङ्गो विधुरपि विरुध्यात् परिभवं
स्मरो मा मथ्नीयादिति किमपि नाज्ञासिषमहम् ॥ SA 756

2. दु ख दीघतर वहन्त्यपि सखीवर्गाय नो भाषते
शैवाले शयनं सृजत्यपि पुन शेते नवा लज्जया ।
कण्ठे गद्गदवाचमञ्चति दृशोधत्ते न बाष्पोदक
सन्ताप सहते यदम्बुज मुखी तद्वेद चेतोभव ॥ SHV. 1944

3, स्नातं वारिद वारिभिर्विरचितो वासो घने कानने
प्रीतैश्चन्दन बिन्दुभिर्मनसिजो देव समाराधित ।
नीता जागरण-व्रतेन रजनी मौडा कृता दक्षिणा
तत्र किं न तपस्तथापि स कथं नाद्यापि नेत्रातिथि ॥
PV 363=SA 288

4

The psychology and doings of a fallen type of woman, a lady on tryst in broad day-light or at night etc. etc. have been nicely analysed by the poet. Fallen women care for money alone and are the very antithesis of love[1] and do not believe even in the sympathy of God for them; they simply exclaim that He has done absolutely nothing for them.[2] They go to the length of inciting even their daughters—in *any case, those who are very much like daughters to* them—to evil acts.[3]

1. (a) केशः कुन्द-मिषाद्विवोपहसति द्रव्यैर्विहोनाञ्जनान्
यत्नां ग्रन्थि-धनं विलोक्तुमिवोद्ग्रीवस्तनस्तिष्ठति ।
प्रेमच्छेद-कृपाया-वह्नि-सुषमां रोमालिरालम्बते
यस्याः सा कथमस्तु चेतसि चमत्काराय वामभ्रूः ॥

PV. 321.

(b) दृष्ट्वा प्राङ्गण-सन्निधौ बहुधनं दातारमभ्यागतं
यत्नाजौ सतुतः परस्परमिवाश्लेषं कुरङ्गीदृशः ।
आनन्दाश्रु-पयांसि मुञ्चति मुहुर्मालामिपात् कुन्तलो
दृष्टिः किञ्च धनागमं कथयितुं कर्णान्तिकं गच्छति ॥

2. एते वारिकणान् किरन्ति पुरुषान् वर्षन्ति नाम्भोधराः
शैलाः शाद्वलमुद्वमन्ति न सृजन्त्येते पुनर्नायकान् ।
त्रैलोक्ये तरवः फलानि सुवते नैवाऽऽरभन्ते जनान्
धातः कातरमालपामि कुलटा-हेतोस्त्वया किं कृतम् ॥

SA. 258–SHV. 1851.

3. चेत पौरादपि शङ्कसे हिमरुचेरप्यर्चिषो लज्जसे
भोगीन्द्रादपि चेद् बिभेषि तिमिरस्तोमादपि त्रस्यसि ।
चेत कुञ्जादपि दूयसे जलधरध्वानादपि क्षुभ्यसि
माय' पुत्रि हतास्मि हन्त भविता त्वत्तः कलङ्कः कुले ॥
SA. 960.

The messenger-maidens engaged in love-intrigues are always very clever fellows. One of them reports to the lover that ever since he was away the unfortunate girl got rid of the garland of budding lotuses, pearl-necklace and waist-girdle but that was not all; her bracelets slipped down from her arms to the wrist as if to ascertain whether she had lost her pulse too.[1]

The poet has also drawn good pictures of men, as distinguished from women. Howsoever, a woman may decry that a man is insincere in love-matters, the poet shows that a man also may love to the extent of madness. Almost like a woman, he piteously bewails that he is in no way an enemy of the kunda flower, honey, bee, waves of nectar, cloud, lunar disc, and lotus, but they all have turned out hostile to him simply because she puts them all to shame by her teeth, melodious voice, sweet gaze, laughter, hair, face and breast respectively, while residing in his heart.[2]

1. माला बालाम्बुजदलमयी मौक्तिकी हारयष्टिः
काञ्ची याते प्रभवति हरौ हन्त वः प्रस्थितैव ।
अन्यद् ब्रूमः किमपि धमनी वर्तते वा न वेत्ति
ज्ञातुं पार्श्वे रहह वलयो बाहुमूलं प्रयाति ॥
SSS, 582.

2. [illegible]
SSS, 564.

A lady-love does not always explicitly speak out that the beloved one must not go; but she has her own ways to do things. She tells him that even after death a woman never recovers from the fever of separation she once contracts; before she departs from this world she must know whether the betel-nut, flowers, sandal, water, etc. which act like poison in this life would be so painful in the other world as well.[1]

Bhānukara's verses on nature are novel in conception and enchanting in expression. The night, the poet says, leaves its bower, the sky, having arranged its hair in the form of darkness that scattered all over in course of its dalliance and having worn its earring, viz. the lunar disc, as soon as the dawn appears.[2] Again, the morning would, no doubt, appear to many as very pleasant but it is most unpleasant to some at least. The poet draws a beautiful picture of a lady-love concealing in the morning the blue lily on her ear so that her

1. [illegible]
[illegible] वद।
स्यादत्रैव परत्र तत् किमु विष-ज्वालावली-दुःसहम् ॥

SA. 690

2. सन्निभृत चिकुरं तमोमयं यामिनी तदनु केलि-विच्युतम् ।
कुर्वती श्रवसि चन्द्रमण्डलं कुण्डलं गगन-कुञ्जमुज्झति ॥

SSS, 13.

beloved one may not be disappointed.[1] Herself knowing that the morning is there to torment them by separation she somehow conceals the faded lily in order to save him from a rude shock and violent despair.

In one verse Bhānukara depicts the evening as a chaste wife who enters the room for having a light as soon as she sees the moon[2].

The poet explains the moon-rise as follows. The night is a lady, the sky a bower, the moon extends his 'kara' out of love.[3] Again, he thinks that the moon-rise is due to the machination of Kāmadeva who intends to find out the stolen Sun. In order to detect the real thief, he performs a magical rite, viz. setting a dish (moon) to motion. For this purpose, Kāmadeva scatters all around uncooked rice in the form of stars;

1. संस्पृश्य स्तनमाकलय्य वदनं संश्लिष्य कण्ठ-स्थलं
निष्पीड्याधर-बिम्बमम्बरमपाकृष्य व्युदस्यालकम् ।
दैवस्याम्बुजिनीपतेः समुदयं जिज्ञासमाने प्रिये
वामाक्षी वसनाञ्चलैः श्रवणयोर्नीलोत्पलं निह्नुते ॥
SSS- 20.

2. मृगाङ्कमागतं वीक्ष्य सन्ध्या कुलवधूरिव ।
दीपलेखामिवादाय निर्विवेश निकेतनम् ॥
PV. 560=SA=SSS. 140.

3. नभोलता-कुसुमायितायाः प्रमोदपर्याकुल-तारकायाः ।
निशा-प्रियायाः स्फुरता करेण शशी तमःकञ्चुकमुन्मुमोच ॥
SSS. 193.

the cooing of the cuckoos is nothing but the chanting of mantras by him and the moon is the dish he uses.[1]

In one of his verses on the summer Bhānukara has employed a pun very effectively.[2] Of much effect has been the use of a happily chosen word viz. Kanyā-*rāśi in a verse on the description of the Autumn.*[3] *In* his description of the Hemanta the poet strikingly attributes the husband-wife relationship to the Day and the Night, *during this season.* The Day *offers the* major portion of the sky (or the cloth) to the beloved *night and himself shrinks for her satisfaction.*[4]

Bhānudatta *was the author of the* Gita-Gauriśa with the ṭippana on the same work that is a prototype

1. तारालतानिव किरन् कलकण्ठनादान्
मन्त्राक्षराणि निगदन् कुसुमेषुरेषः ।
लाभाय वासरमणेर्मुषितस्य सायं
सञ्चारयत्यमृतदीधिति-कांस्यपात्रम् ॥ PV. 573.

तारा = 1. a star: 2. pupil of the eye.
स्फुरित = 1. bright: 2. restless. कर—1. rays; 2. hand. This magical rite is performed even today in some parts of the country for detecting thieves.

2. SA. 529. 3. PV. 650–SSS. 424. = SA. 601.

4. अम्बरमेव रमण्यै यामिन्यै वासरः प्रेयान् ।
अधिकं ददौ निजान्नादथ सङ्कुचितस्तस्थौ ॥
PV. 650–SSS. 424 = SA. 601

अम्बर—1. the sky; 2. the cloth. The idea is that in the Hemanta the day is very short and the night is long.

of the Gita Govinda of Jayadeva, and had certainly some leaning towards religion The authors of the anthologies consulted have not, however, cared to quote his verses on religious topics such as Śravana, Manana, Kirtana etc, the PT being the only work to preserve one verse on the utterance of the holy name of Narāyana Through a figure of speech known as prativastūpamā, the poet states that just as the digging and the levelling of the earth, etc are useless if no seed be sown, the perusal of the holy scriptures, the Purānas etc are all in vain if the sacred name of Kamalākānta be not uttered.[1]

The anthologies preserve a few verses of Bhānukara on the holy places, etc In a verse on Manikarnikā, he suitably employs the *Virodha alamkāra* in showing how a bather in the same attains the state of *Śiva*[2] and in a

1 वेदस्याध्ययनं कृतं, etc PT 266

2 स्नात वारिषु निर्मलेषु जटिलो जात पुन कुन्तल
काय क्षालितमेव पङ्क पटल कण्ठे पुन कालिमा।
उद्दामा खलु वीचय परिचिता क्रान्त करा भस्मना
मात श्रीमणिकर्णिके कर्णपदे जल्पामि कोऽयं क्रम ॥ PT 42

This is a good example of the figure of speech Virodha Here the devotee means to say that he has really attained the state of Siva on account of his bath in the Manikarnika though the wording is such that the second part of each pāda may be interpreted otherwise

verse on the Triveni he assigns some reason in his poetic way why its water should be darkish.[1]

In his Anyokti on the Lion he illustrates how heredity works No sooner is a cub born than it exhibits a tendency to jump upon the temple of an elephant even before sucking its mother's breast.[2] Thus, in his other Anyokti verses too he hints at some truth or other.

One outstanding feature of Bhānukara's composition is his great liking for the employment of figures of speech[3] The lofty flight of his poetical fancy couched *in the garb of idiomatic language reaches* at times the maximum height of poetic excellence, particularly with the aid of rhetorical perfection

1 ऊरीकर्तुं तुहिन किरणप्रीतिधारामुदारा
दूरीकर्तुं दिनकर-कर क्लेश बाधामगाधाम् ।
यस्या पुण्ये पयसि विशति स्नातुकामा त्रियामा
प्रातस्तस्यास्तिमिरततिभि श्यामल नीरमस्या ॥

PV 877

2 जात स्तन्यं न जग्राह कण्ठीरवकिशोरक ।
चक्षुर्व्यापारयामास कुम्भे कुञ्जरशालिनि ॥

PV 707

3 प्रतिवस्तूपमा in PT 266, श्लेष in a large number of verses, व्यङ्ग्य-व्यतिरेक *and* प्रत्यनीक *in SSS 564* आर्थी परिसङ्ख्यानु प्राणित विषमालङ्कार in PV 815, भ्रान्तिमान् in SA । परम्परित-साङ्ग-रूपक in PV 573 सूक्ष्म in SSS 606, एकदेश-विवर्ति श्लिष्ट रूपक in SSS 193, etc etc

AKBARĪYA-KĀLIDĀSA

His date

Akbarīya Kālidāsa composed a work entitled Rāmacandra-yaśah praśasti in praise of Vaghela Rāmacandra of Rewa who was a contemporary of Akbar and ruled from 1555-1592. We published for the first time a critical edition of this valuable work[1] as vol. 3 of Pracyavani Gopal Chunder Law Memorial Text Series in *1946*. In the introduction in English to this work, we discussed about the date of the work and came to the conclusion that the work must have been composed by 1580 A D Here we also dealt with the Family of the patron of the author viz the Royal Family of Rewa and the importance of Rāmacandra yaśah prabandha as a Sanskrit work, particularly, about its style which has a unique grace and beauty of its own. The authors of the Padyaracanā, Sūkti Sundara and the Padyavenī have quoted verses from this work (see Appendix to this work)

From the colophon to this work—इत्यक्बरी-कालिदास-कवि श्रीगोविन्द भट्ट-विरचित श्रीमहाराधिराज-रामचन्द्र यश प्रबन्ध समाप्त — it is clear that Akbarīya Kālidāsa's real name was Govinda Bhatta. As a contemporary of Rāmacandra and Akbar, Akbarīya-Kālidāsa must have flourished about 400 years ago.

1. For MS. see p. 85 of Mm Haraprasad Shastri's Catalogue of Sans Mss belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol IV, p. 85, Calcutta 1923.

His patrons

Akbarīya Kālidāsa was one of the greatest Sanskrit poets of his age Though he had had other patrons, the name of the poet itself shows that this Kālidāsa of the sixteenth century A D was a great favourite of Akbar Nothing about his parentage is, however, known He praises in his verses several kings who must have extended patronage to him in some form or other, and he avowedly acknowledges the patronage of Akbar by assuming a name after him Thus, he refers to Gurjarendra, Jallala, Vaghela, Dalapati, Virabhānu putra or Rāmacandra of Rewa and Akbar He praises the king of Gurjara as one whose fame has pervaded the whole world [1] King Jallala is referred to in a beautiful verse on the wife of his enemy.[2] The Vaghela King praised by Akbariya Kālidasa was Rāmacandra of Rewa who was responsible for sending Tānasena to the court of Akbar [3] His father Virabhānu was the patron of poet Bhānukara [4]

1 विस्फार्यं व्योम गङ्गामल गुरु-लहरी-कैतवात् केसराली-
रुच्चैर्मास्तस्य-देशे हिमकर-कपटान्मण्डलीकृत्य पुच्छम् ।
दिङ्नागारब्ध-भ्रमस्तत्र विशद यश केसरी गुजरेन्द्र
महाखण्डारण्य वीथी-गिरि-गहन दरी सक्रमी चङ्क्रमीति ॥PV.77

2. जल्लाल क्षोणिपाल त्वदहित भवने सञ्चरन्ती किराती
कीर्णान्यालोक्य रत्नान्युरुतर-खदिराङ्गार-शङ्का बिभति ।
कृत्वा श्रीखण्ड खण्ड तदुपरि मुकुलीभूत-नेत्रा धमन्ती
श्वासामोदानुयातरलि-कुल निकरैर्धूमशङ्का बिभर्ति ।
SS. 174, PV 168, 4th line missing in the latter MS

3. For details about the kings of Rewa, see Dr Hirānanda Sastrin's Memoir on the Vaghela Dynasty of Rewa, 1926

4. See under Bhānukara

One of his verses is devoted to the praise of king Rāma for his charitable acts,[1] particularly the gift of elephants The king of Kābila who is said to have invaded the country of Vaghela was repulsed by the latter in spite of the former's very strong army[2] In another verse he describes the sword of the Vaghela king, to him it appears like a swarm of bees emerging out of the calyx of his hand lotus [3] In a verse in the form of a colloquy between Gauri and Rambha he alludes to the mighty prowess of the son of king Virabhānu i e king Rāmacandra of Rewah [4] He praises the queen of Dalapati in one verse [5] He describes Akbar as an

1 राम त्वद्दत्त-मत्तेभ कुम्भ नि सरदम्बुभि ।
दिक्षु भिक्षु गृह द्वारि वारानिधिरदृश्यति ॥ PV. 96

2 Padyāmṛta taraugini 72=HV 67=SS 121 •

3 नृपत्र निगदन्त्यमी जलद-कज्जल-ज्योतिय
महासि लतिका करे तव घघेल पञ्चानन।
प्रताप-तपन स्फुरत्-कर सरोज-कोषोत्थित
द्विरफ लहरीति मे मनसि बुद्धिरुज्जृम्भते ॥

4 हे गौरि म हि रम्भे कनकमयनदीमेहि लीलावगाह-
मक्षोदानन्द मुग्धे कनकमयनदी कुत्र ? येयं प्रयाति ?
वीरश्री-वीरभानु क्षितितिलक-भुजस्तम्भ पञ्चनु-प्रताप
ज्वाला-कल्लाल-ताप द्रुत-कनक-गिरि स्यन्द धाराप्रवाह ॥
PV. 65

5, चन्द्र चन्द्रापूर्व चतुरुदधि चयं चन्द्रिका चन्द्रकान्तं
पार्वती-लापनान्त चमर-सहचरी बाल-आराधयं च ।
गर्वीकुर्वन्ति दर्वीकर तिलकमपि व्यम्प्र-गुर्वीति-भङ्गि
स्वर्वीथि प्रेक्षिता रे दलपति-गृहिणि त्वयत्र सोम-मामाः ॥
PV 76

outstanding ruler who possesses the might of a lion.[1] The emperor he says, is so powerful that he extirpates all his enemies instantaneously and terrifies even the king of Ceylon.[2] In another verse his sword is beautifully compared with various objects.[3] The Sūkti-sundara[4] preserves a verse in which the poet describes the march of the Nizam for conquest. But as both the Padyāmrtatarangini[5] and the Padya-veni[6] attribute the verse to Bhānukara, the attribution of Sundarācārya does not seem authentic.

There are a few other verses which he presumably composed for pleasing some king or other.[7]

1. शार्दूलोऽसि प्रकोष्ठे मदकल-करटी मांसल-स्कन्ध-कूटे
दो स्तम्भे नागराजो ध्वनिषु जलधर केसरी मध्य-देशे ।
धम्मिल्ले ध्वान्त-धारा मनसि जलनिधिर्भ्रू-युगे काल- दण्ड -
स्तत्सत्य श्रीहुमाऊकुल-तिलकमणे भीपयाद्गीपयोऽसि ॥
PV. 53

2, वीर त्वं कार्मुकच्छेदकवर, etc.=PT 97=SS. 158

3 PT. 89=PV. 138=Rasika-jivana, fol 14a, 29=Padya racanā, 29 27. Probably, Jallāla praised by Akbariya Kalidasa (p 34) is the same as Akbar.

4. V, 168 (see Sahitya Parishat Patrika)

5. V. 191.

6. वाह-व्यूह-खुर-क्षतां घसमतीं संवीक्ष्य मूर्छावतीं, et =PT 01 (भानुकर)=PV. 133 (भानुकर)=SS. 168 (अकबरी०)

7 (a) वदन्तु देव तावकं प्रतापमेव पावकं
महा-तुषार-शीतल यदाम हे यय यत ।
सुमेरु-कन्दरान्तरे स्थितो गृहीत-कम्बल-
स्त्वदारि-भूप-नायक. प्रकम्पते मुहुर्मुहुः ॥ PV. 67

Akbarīya-Kālidāsa as a poet

Akbarīya-Kalidāsa was proud of his achievements as is manifest from one of his verses preserved in the Padya-veṇī.[1]

The verses of Akbarīya-Kālidāsa that are traced may be classified as follows:—

Subject		No. of verses
1. Personal	 1	
2. Deities		
a. Bhavānī	... 6:	PV. 16, 36-38; SHV. 273-274
Bhavānīcchatra	... 1:	PV. 46
Devīcchatra	... 1:	PV. 47
b. Sambhu	... 3:	PV. 25, 14-15
c. Gaṇésa ...	... 2:	PT. 6=PV. 11; SHV. 124
d. Kṛṣṇa ...	... 3:	PV. 33-35
3. Animal		
The horse ...	... 1:	PV. 126=SS. 124
4. Love		
Virahiṇī ...	... 1:	PV. 611=SSS. 309
5. Nature		
a. Summer-wind	... 2:	PV. 620=SSS. 330; and SSS. 329
b. Malaya-breeze	... 1:	PV. 609
c. Moon-rise	... 1:	PV. 580; SSS. 205

(b) त्वयि प्रचलिते विभो तुरगटाप-टङ्क-त्रुट-
धरावलय-धूलिभिः सकलमेव कीर्णं नभः।
दिवाकर-हयावली-नियमनम्र-सद्मारज-
भ्रमापनयनाय किं धवलतीर्थमूर्ध्वं गता॥ PV. 111

(c) शुद्ध-मद्यमद, etc. SS 63, see Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā

1. अनाराध्य कालीमनास्वाद्य गौरीमृते मन्त्र-तन्त्राद् विना शब्द-चौर्यात्।
प्रबन्धं प्रगल्भं प्रकर्तुं प्रवक्तुं विरिञ्चि-प्रपञ्चे मदन्यः कविः कः॥
V. 786

6. Description of kings	12 ·	PV 53, PV 67, PV. 76, PV. 111, PV. 168=SS. 174, SS. 63=PR. 1P. 14, SS 168=PT. 91=PV 133, PV 77=SS 80, PT. 97=SS 158, PT. 72=PV. 66=SS. 121, PT. 89=PV. 138=PR 21 27, PV. 65
Sword of a Vaghela king	1	PV. 139
Gifts of king Rama	1:	PV. 96
7. Anyāpadeśa	. 1:	PV 732
8. Features · Hair	.. 1	PV. 259
9. Kavi varnana	.. 1	PV 786

Akbarīya Kalidāsa did not professedly belong to any particular religious sect such as Śākta or Vaisnava. He pays homage to Visnu, Śiva, Bhavānī and Ganeśa. Three of his verses are devoted to Visnu (including one on Krsna), three to Śiva, eight to Bhavānī and two to Ganeśa.

In a verse on goddess Durgā he prays to her for protecting him from all evils in that majestic form in which she is worshipped by Indra with the Mandāra flowers that attract a large number of bees. As they sit on the golden umbrella of the goddess, they constitute another umbrella as it were and the goddess appears like wearing two umbrellas [1] In another verse

1. सेवा सारम्भ-जम्भप्रतिभट रभसोन्मुक्त-मन्दार-माला
 प्रस्यन्माध्वीक-धारा-ग्रहलिम-लहरी-लम्पटालिच्छटाभि ।
ऊर्ध्वं षट्पालपाभिर्विरचित-रचनाडम्बरं देवि दुर्गे
 हैमच्छत्रोपरि त्वच्छिरसि मधुकरच्छत्रमव्याद्भव्यात् ॥ PV. 47

he praises the umbrella of the goddess as a wonderful thing *No sooner is it seen than it enters the head*[1] Again, he pays homage to the goddess in her Jvālāmukhi *form in two verses* *Very fortunate are they, exclaims* the poet, who worship the holy feet of Jvālāmukhi with bodies horripilated, *eyes* tearful, and heads rolling on the ground—muttering prayers in faltering accents[2] Again, the poet *worships* her for dispelling all the gloom of his miseries by means of the shooting rays of her toes[3]

He has depicted *Śiva* in a very pleasant as well as angry mood In one verse he intends to deceive Pārvati and replies accordingly to her questions regarding the identity of the person on his head It *is really the goddess Gangā, traditionally, the co-wife*

1 कनकच्छत्रमम्बाया कुरुते कुतुक महत् ।
विशदेव दृशोरन्तयच्छिराच्छति मूर्धनि ॥ PV. 46

The significance is that it is very pleasant to the eye, and secondly, it remains long in the memory of the visitor Again, the verse is designed to contain the figure of speech Virodhābhasa

2 चञ्चद्रोमाञ्च वीचो निचय-करचितेरङ्गक स्यन्दमान-
स्रातोभिर्लोचनाब्जैभधिततिमिरनिश गद्गदोच्चारिताभि ।
धात्री पीठे लुठद्भिर्विलुलित चिकुरैर्मौलिभिर्ये भजन्ति
श्रीमज्ज्वालम्य-पुण्यचरण-सरसिजं भाग्यवन्तस्त एव ॥
PV 38

3. स्फूर्जच्चञ्चश्चकोर-प्रमदनपटवो भक्त सम्पत्-समुदा-
मुच्चैरुल्लासयन्तश्चरण-नख सरन्ध्रीर-तारा कुसुम्भा ।
भूयासु भूरि ताप प्रशमन पटुल-ध्वान्त-विच्छेद-दक्षा
धन्य ज्वालामुखि त्वत् पद्-कमल-नख प्रस्फुरच्चन्द्र बिम्बा ॥
PV. 37

of Pārvatī, but Śiva tries to explain away the questions of Pārvatī.[1] In the verse describing Śiva in his destructive mood, he is seen with one leg lifted up for the Tāṇḍava dance and Aparṇā clinging to his body in fear; the terrible sounds of his anklets are piercing the whole world as it were.[2] In the third verse he describes the neck of Śiva with its dazzling bluish colour resembling various dark objects such as the waves of the Yamunā, the bed of blue lotuses, etc. and earnestly prays for getting rid of all evils.[3]

Gaṇeśa has been praised in two of Akbarīya-Kālidāsa's verses collected by us. In one he is found in a very happy mood, and in the other, rather in a terrific

1. मौलौ किं नु महेश मानिनि जलं किं वक्त्रमम्भोरुहं
किं लीलालक-वेणिका मधुकरी किं भ्रूलता वीचिका ।
किं नेत्रे शफरौ किमु स्तनयुगं प्रेङ्खद्-रथाङ्ग-द्वयं
साशङ्कामिति शोचयन् गिरि-सुतां गङ्गाधरः पातु नः ॥
PV. 16

2. भृङ्गि-प्रस्तुत-गीति-मञ्जिम-मिलत्तज्झल्लरी-झांकृति-
स्फूर्जद्-डुंगुम-मञ्जु-नन्दि-मुरज-न्यस्तैक-हस्तोत्पलम् ।
अङ्ग-त्रस्यदपर्णमाद्य-नटन-क्षिप्तैक-पादाम्बुजं
प्रोद्यद्घुर्घुरिका-झणत्कृति-दलद्ब्रह्माण्डमीशं भजे ॥
PV. 14

3. कालिन्दी-वीचि-पुञ्जैः कुवलय-विपिनैरिन्द्रनीलच्छटाभिः
शैवालैः कज्जलौघैरलि-तिमिर-भरैर्बाल-जीमूत-जालैः ।
कस्तूरी-कोकिलानां ततिभिरिव महाचाकचिक्य-प्रपञ्चै-
स्त्रैलोक्यं पूरयन्ती शमयतु विपदः शाम्भवी कण्ठ-नाला ॥
PV. 75

Lakṣmī and the poet offers his prayers for protection.[1] In his verse on Kṛṣṇa the poet prays to him for unflinching devotion alone; nothing else matters to him.[2]

We have only four verses of Akbarīya-Kālidāsa on nature which has a permanent bearing on the sentiment of Love. These verses might as well be termed Love-verses. Unfortunately, we have only one more Love-verse of the author—a verse on a separated ladylove. Out of the four verses on nature, two are devoted to the description of summer-wind. In one the summer-winds are stated to be the elephants of king Madana who are rushing on after roaming about on the outskirts of the golden mountains in the form of the breasts of the Ladies of Karṇāṭa, jumping in the Pampā Lake, scattering the pollens of the Malli flowers—and followed by swarms of bees throughout.[3]

1. धम्मिल्लश्रीः किमास्ये किमु वदन-रुचिः कण्ठ-सीमाग्र कण्ठ-
च्छाया वक्षोज-युग्मे किमु कुच-कलशी-कान्तयो मध्यदेशे ।
दागित्यादि-क्रमेणोल्लसित-जलनिधेरिन्दिरायाः स्वरूपैः
पान्तु प्रेम-प्रणाली-विलुलित-गतयः कैटभारेः कटाक्षाः ॥
PV. 34

2. घन-स्निग्ध-चञ्चत्-कच-ग्रन्थि-नद्ध-
स्फुरत्-केकिपिच्छे लसच्चारु-गुच्छे ।
मुखेन्दु-भ्रमद्वल्लवी-दृक्-चकोरे ।
यशोदा-किशोरे मनो मे रमेत ॥ PV. 35

3. कृत्वा कार्णाट-कान्ता-कुच-कनक-गिरि-प्रान्त-सञ्चार-लीलां
झम्पामासाद्य पम्पा-पयसि वनभुवि क्षिप्त-मल्ली-रजस्काः ।
आकर्षन्तः परस्तादलिगडमिव कल-ध्वान-पुष्पन्धयालीं
धावन्त्येते मदान्धा मदन-नरपतेः सिन्धुरा गन्धवाहाः ॥
PV. 620=SSS. 340

The pleasant summer-winds towards the end of the day joyously passing through the Campaka forest and accumulating honey drops and consequently, slowing down its gait, are sufficiently capable of relieving people of all fatigue.[1]

The verse on Malaya-breeze attributes the nature of a boy to it and all the adjectives are so used that they may be interpreted with reference to the Malaya-wind as well as a boy. The poet really describes the advent of the spring and chooses this happy metaphor for the purpose.[2]

1. चलमान-चम्पक-वनान्तरोल्लसन्मकरन्द-बिन्दु-भर-मन्द-चंक्रमाः ।
अपहरन्तु तापमहरन्त-सम्भवाः पवनाः पटीरवन-गन्ध-बन्धवः ॥
PV. 329

2. भृङ्गाली-कण्ठमालास्फुटित-कमलिनी-धूलिभिर्धूसराङ्गाः
स्पन्दन्तश्चन्द्रकन्या-लघुतर-लहरी-शीकरासार-लालाः ।
अङ्कादङ्कं व्रजन्तो विकसित-विलसत्-केतकी-मल्लिकानां
मोदन्ते मन्दमन्दं मलय-गिरि-दरीगर्भतो वात-पोताः ॥
PV. 609

Boys	Winds
a. कण्ठमाला :—wearing garlands of tigers' nails, etc.	a. Wearing garlands in the form of bees
b. धूलिभिर्धूसराङ्गा :—covered with dust	b. Full of the pollens of lotuses
c. शीकरासार-लाला :—emitting saliva	c. Scattering tiny particles of water, etc.
d. अङ्कादङ्कं व्रजन्त :—passing from one lap to the other	d. Passing through various sorts of flowers

In the verse devoted to moon-rise, the poet says that the evening is the time for the god of Love to proceed for the conquest of the world and accordingly, the ceremonial for the purpose is to be observed; a copper-plate, therefore, floats on the sea in the form of the setting sun and East, too, bears on her head a pitcher in the form of the moon.[1]

The pursuit of a horse is beautifully described by the poet. It stretches forth its head as it intends to measure the earth and its feet are raised up as it considers the sky as nothing but a stage to dance on.[2]

The poet has left us to the legacy of only one Anyāpadeśa or Anyokti. It is on the lotus. There is no

1. मदन-विजय-यात्रा-मङ्गलं द्योतयन्ती
विशति जलधि-मध्ये ताम्रपात्रीव भानुः।
इयमपि पुरुहूत-प्रेयसी मूर्ध्निसंस्थं
कलशमिव सुधांशुं साधुमुल्लालसीति ॥
PV. 580

v. r. in SSS. 205a. मदन-विजय-यात्रा-काल-विज्ञापनाय ।

Floating copper-plates and holding pitchers on the head are parts of the auspicious rites observed as Yātrā-maṅgala.

2. इयती जगती कियती भविता
नमिताननतामिति याति हयः।
वियदङ्गन-रिङ्ग्य-रङ्ग-विधौ
परिनर्तितुमुत्क्रमतीव नभः ॥
P.V. 126=SS. 124.

flower that can outdo the lotus by rivetting the attention of the bees even for a while.[1]

Akbarīya-Kālidāsa is indeed a great Sanskrit poet. His verses are inspiring and really enjoyable. Almost every verse has some figure of speech or other in it, such as the metaphor including the Mālārūpaka, Utprekṣā, Atiśayokti, śleṣa, and so on. Nowhere in his composition, is there any looseness. The style of Akbarīya-Kālidāsa reminds one of the excellent styles of his illustrious predecessor whose name he shares—though at a much later period. One is apt to think that his name Akbarīya-Kālidāsa is really a pen-name so designed as to please both Akbar as well as to suit his own capacity as a supposed rival of the best poet of Hindu India.

1. हे मल्लि हे मालति हे सवन्ति
न तादृशी कापि भवादृशीनाम् ।
क्षणं समाधाय मधुव्रतं या
विस्मारयत्यम्बुजिनी-वियोगम् ॥

PV. 732.

The Rasika-Jivana records हेमाम्भोरुह-पत्रे, etc. as a verse of Akbarīya-Kālidāsa. But see KVS. p. 34, हेमाम्भोरुह-पत्रे, etc. ascribed to Kālidāsa in two MSS. of the SP.

JAGANNĀTHA PAṆḌITARĀJA

Court-poet of Shah Jahan (1628-1658) *and great admirer of Dara Shikoh* (d. 1659).

Personal history

Jagannātha was the son of Perubhaṭṭa[1] or Peramabhaṭṭa[2] and Lakṣmī of the village Mungundu in the Godāvarī district. He was a Tailaṅga brahmin[3] of the Veginada community.[4]

He was very fortunate in his training as a student, his father himself being the teacher. His father in his turn was the disciple of Jñānendra Bhikṣu in Vedānta, of Mahendra in Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika, of Khaṇḍadeva

1. Rasa-Gaṅgādhara. I. 3:—

 पाषाणादपि पीयूषं स्यन्दते यस्य लीलया।
 तं वन्दे पेरुभट्टाख्यं लक्ष्मीकान्तं महागुरुम्॥

In commenting upon Lakṣmī Nāgeśa says, "लक्ष्मीति तत्-पत्नीनाम।"

2. Concluding verse (52) of the Prāṇābharaṇa (No. 53) is an interpolation:—

 तैलङ्गान्वय-मङ्गलालय-महालक्ष्मी-दया-लालितः
 श्रीमत्-पेरमभट्ट-सूनुरनिशं विद्वल्ललाटन्तपः।
 सन्तुष्टः कमताधिपस्य कवितामाकर्ण्य तद्वर्णनं
 श्रीमत्-पण्डितराज-पण्डित-जगन्नाथो व्यधासीदिदम्॥

3. Op. cit.

4. See colophon to the Bhāminī-vilāsa.

in Pūrva mimāmsā and Śesavireśvara in the Mahābhāsya [1] Śesavireśvara taught Jagannātha Panditarāja as well.

It is said that Jagannātha started a school at Jaipur. He as well as other Panditas of Jaipur were once challenged by a Kāzi to an open debate in matters concerning Islam. It was only Jagannātha who took up the challenge, studied the religious literature of the Moslems as much and as quickly as he could within the fixed date and defeated the Kāzi This creditable performance had such a telling effect upon the ruler of Delhi that he at once invited Jagannātha to his court Jagannātha accepted the same and a fresh chapter in his life's history began.

There is a tradition that he fell violently in love with a Muslim girl called Lavangi whom he married. Probably, he was unmarried when he came to the court of the ruler of Delhi [2] That he was much enamoured

1 Rasa-Gangadhara, I 2 —

श्रीमज्ज्ञानेन्द्रभिक्षोरधिगत-सकल-ब्रह्मविद्या-प्रपञ्च
काणादीराक्षपादीरपि गहनगिरो यो महेन्द्रादवेदीत् ।
देवादेवाध्यगीष्ट स्मरहर-नगरे शासनं जैमिनीय
शेषाङ्क-प्राप्त-शेषामल-भणितिरभूत् सर्व-विद्याधरो य ॥

2 Cp शीतार्ता इव संकुचन्ति दिवसा नैवाम्बरं शर्वरी
शीघ्रं मुञ्चति किं च मन्दहुतभुक्-क्रोडं गतो भास्कर ।
स्वं चापत्र हुताश-भ्रान्ति हृदये सीमन्तिनीनां गतो
मास्माकं वसनं न वा युवतयः कुत्र प्रवासो ममम् ॥

of this Muslim girl is evidenced by several verses attributed to him.[1]

Probably Jagannātha had a son by Lavangī whose loss he mourns in one of the verses of the Rasa-Gangādhara.[2] Jagannātha, probably, first came to Delhi during the rule of Jehangir to whom he refers in a verse of the Rasa-Gangādhara.[3]

Jagannātha himself states in the introductory part of his Āsaf-vilāsa that he got his title Panditarāja from emperor Shah Jehan. His work on Āsaf-khān, counsellor of Shah Jehan and brother of Nūrjāhān, manifestly shows his reverence for him and also for Rāya

1. यवनी रमणी विपद् शमनी कमनीयतमा नवनीत-समा ।
उहिऊहि वचोऽमृत पूर्णमुखी स सुखी जगतीह यदङ्कगता ॥
यवनी नवनीत-कोमलाङ्गी शयनीये यदि नीयते कथञ्चित्
अवनी-तलमेव साधु मन्ये न वनी माघवनी विनोद-हेतु ॥
न याचे गजालि न वा वाजिराजि न वित्तेषु चित्त मदीय कदाचित् ।
इय सुस्तनी मस्तक-न्यस्त-हस्ता लवङ्गी कुरङ्गीदृगङ्गीकरोतु ॥

2 अपहाय सकल बान्धव-चिन्तामुद्वास्य गुरु कुल प्रणयम् ।
हा तनय विनयशालिन् कथमिव पर-लोक-पथिकोऽभू ॥
P. 42, 5th Nirnaya-Sāgara Press ed

3. श्यामं यज्ञोपवीतं तव किमिति मषी सगमात् कुत्र जात
सोऽय शीतांशु-कन्या-पयसि कथमभूत्तज्जल कज्जलाक्तम् ।
व्याकुप्यन्नूरदीन-क्षिति-रमण-रिपु क्षोणिभृत्-पद्मलाक्षी
लक्षाक्षीणाश्रु धारा समुदित-सरितां सर्वत सगमेन ॥ (P. 703).

The full name of Jehangir was Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir.

Mukunda of Kashmir at whose instance he composed the same The verse attributed to Jagannātha Panditarāja declaring that only two Īśvaras or Lords, either the Lord of Delhi or of the Universe, are to be approched for help, the rest being simply worthless from the point of view of real patronage[1], would probably, refer to Shah Jahan during whose reign he passed the longest period of his life at the court of Delhi

In some MSS of his work Jagad ābharana there is a reference to his enjoyment of the patronage of Dara Shikoh (see below under the works of Jagın nātha—Jagadābharana) Moreover, Dara Shikoh was murdered in 1659, only one year after the imprison ment of his father Shah Jahan

The tradition is that Jagannātha Panditarāja left the court of Delhi in sheer disgust after the murder of Dara Shikoh and came to Benaras where he was severely reprimanded by Appayya Diksita apparently for marrying a Muslim girl This was most probably, only retaliating for Jagnnātha's severe criticism of his work Citramimāmsā in the Citra mimāmsā khandana Jagannātha, however, took the insult so terribly to heart that he is said to have committed suicide along with

1. दिल्लीश्वरो वा जगदीश्वरो वा मनोरथान् पूरयितुं समर्थः ।
अन्यैर्नृपालैः परिदीयमानं शाकाय वा स्याल्लवणाय वा स्यात् ॥

his beloved Lavangi in the holy water of the Ganges There is a tradition that the Gangā-Lahari of Jagannātha was composed for this purpose, as he stepped down and down, he recited one after another the 53 verses of this stotra after which he and Lavangi were drowned.

But this incident must have taken place not immediately after his leaving the court of Delhi. He says in the Śānta vilāsa, part IV of the Bhāmini vilāsa v 32, that after leaving Delhi, he resided at Muttra [1]

The third canto of the Bhāmini vilāsa viz the Karuna, apparently appears to have been composed after the demise of Jagannātha s partner in life But really if the Karuna vilāsa as a part of the Bhāmini vilāsa were composed with the express intention of having ready illustrations for the Rasa Gangādhara as Nāgeśa says [2] no personal loss need be taken into consideration with re-

1. शास्त्राण्याकलितानि नित्य-विधय सर्वेऽपि संभाविता
दिल्लीवल्लभ पाणि पल्लव-तले नीत नवीन वय ।
सम्प्रत्युज्झित वासन मधुपुरी मध्ये हरि सेव्यते
सर्वं पण्डितराज राजि तिलकेनाकारि लोकाधिकम् ॥

2. Jagannātha says in the Rasa-Gangādhara v 6 —
निर्माय नूतनमुदाहरणानुरूपं
काव्य मयाऽत्र निहितं न परस्य किंचित् ।
किं सेव्यते सुमनसा मनसाऽपि गन्ध
कस्तूरिका-जनन शक्ति-भृता मृगेण ॥
Nāgesa says, "काव्य भामिनीविलासाख्यम्" ।

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gard to the composition of the verses. Moreover, as there is no evidence whatsoever that Jagannātha Panditarāja married a second time, the above supposition distinctly goes against the tradition that he and Lavaṅgī died together in the holy waters of the Ganges.

Date.

The Rasa-Gaṅgādhara contains a verse[1] which refers to Nurdin. Nurdin is really the forename of Nurdin Mahammad Jahangir, father of Shah Jahan. Most probably our poet came to the court of Delhi when Jahangir was the ruler. Internal evidence shows that Jagannātha Panditarāja enjoyed the full confidence and liberal patronage of Shah Jahan.[2] If 'Jagat' of the work

1. श्याम यज्ञोपवीतं. etc., p. 703. NSP. 5th ed.

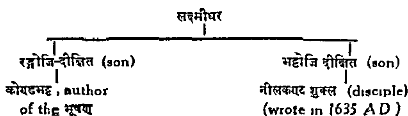
2. अथ सकल-लोक-विस्तार-विस्तारित-महोपकार-परम्पराधीन मानसेन, प्रतिदिनमुपरचित- गद्य-पद्याद्यनेक-विद्या विद्योतितान्त करण- कविभिरुपास्यमानेन, कृत-युगोद्धृत-कलि-कालेन, कुमति-वृथा-जाल-समाच्छादित-वेद-घन मार्ग-विलोकनाय समुद्दीपित-सुतर्क-दहन-ज्वाला-जालेन, मूर्तिमतेव नव्वाबासफ खान-मनःप्रसादेन, द्विज कुल सेवा-हेवाकि-यावन -कायेन, माथुर-कुल-समुद्रेन्दुना रायमुकुन्देनादिष्टेन, सार्वभौम-श्रीशाहजहां-प्रसादाधिगत-पण्डितराज-पदवी-विराजितेन, तैलङ्ग-कुलावतंसेन, पण्डित-जगन्नाथेनासफ-विलासाख्येयमाख्यायिका निरमीयत।

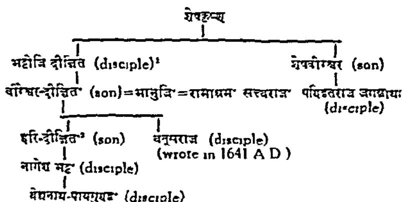
Introductory part of the Āsaf-vilāsa.

Again, the word 'दिल्ली-वल्लभ' in v. 32 of the Sānta vilāsa, Part IV of the Bhāminī-vilāsa, *most probably, refers to* Shah Jahan.

Jagadabharna may be taken to refer to Dara Shikoh as some MSS show, Jagannātha Panditarāja may be supposed to have continued to enjoy the patronage of the Mughal Raj till the murder of the eldest son of Shah Jahan Therefore, our poet appears to have enjoyed the patronage of two Mughal emperors and one Mughal prince *It is only likely that* Jagannātha *was born in* the second half of the sixteenth century and continued to contribute to Sanskrit literature till the murder of the unfortunate Mughal prince Dara Shikoh (1659 A D) as a court poet of Delhi Subsequently to his leaving the Royal court he resided at Muttra and compiled the Bhāmini vilasa and necessarily the Rasa Gangādhara if the word 'kāvya in v 6 of this work really refers to the Bhāmini vilasa as Nāgeśa says it does

Other evidences also help the determination of the date of Jagannatha Panditarāja Our poet is connected with the celebrated School of Grammarians headed by Bhattoji Diksita His exact relationship is best seen in the following table :—





Nāgeśa Bhatta flourished towards the end of the 17th century and therefore the date assigned by us to Jagannātha Panditarāja who flourished two generations earlier must be about 50 years earlier still

In the Kula prabandha composed in the seventeenth century, which is now included in the Vamśa vithi of the Sāhitya vaibhava of Bhatta Mathurānātha Śāstrin (Bhatta Garden, Residency Road, Jaipur, Rajputana) it is stated that one Nārāyana who was a student of Jagan nātha Panditarāja succumbed to death at an early life in the seventeenth century[3] This also helps the exact

1. Bhattoji's disciple Nilakantha Śukla composed a work in 1635 A D

2 There is a tradition that Hari-Diksita challenged Jagannātha Panditarāja in debate in which our poet first defeated his opponent but later on was himself defeated

3. लब्धा विद्या निखिला पण्डितराजाज्जगन्नाथात् ।
नारायणस्तु दैवादल्पायुः स्वःपुरीमगमत् ॥

determination of the date of Jagannātha Panditarāja irrespective of the above evidences

Again, the Subhāsita hārāvali of Hari Kavi preserves a verse of Jagannātha Panditaraja in which he praises one Gangādhara [1] Nāgeśa Bhatta refers to one Gangādhara as his guru in his commentary on the Rasa Gangādhara [2] It may be that these two Gangādharas were identical in which case Gangādhara must have taught Nāgeśa in his old age

It may further be added that the commentary of Nāgeśa Bhatta on Rasa Gangādhara was composed by the beginning of the eighteenth century Jagannātha himself severely criticised Apprayya Diksita as a slavish immitator of earlier rhetoricians Appayya was probably alive up till the end of the first quarter of the seventeenth century and was in any case, a senior contemporary of Jagannātha Haribhāskara, whose Vrtta ratnākara tikā[3] was composed in 1676 A D includes in his Padyāmrta tarangini two verses of Jagannatha The Padyāmrta

1 वितयश हेत्याद्यैरतिविततधाव्यैरपि शृभि-
र्न जेयोऽसौ विद्वज्जन सदसि गंगाधर बुध ।

The Laksmī lahari of Jagannātha seems to refer to the same poet by means of pun on गङ्गाधर in v 3—' स्तास्त्वं गायन्ति स्फुरित-तनु गंगाधर-मुखा ।''

2 नत्वा गङ्गाधर मर्म प्रकाश तनुते गुरुम् , the opening line of the commentary

3 Bhandarkar, Reports 1877 91, p lxii and 1883-84, p 60

tarangini is dated at 1674 A D [1] and was composed only fifteen years after the murder of Dara Shikoh.

From the above evidences we may come to the conclusion that the period of Jagannātha's literary activities continued from the beginning of the seventeenth century up to about 1660 A D

Works of Jagannātha Panditarāja

A survey of the writings of Jagannātha Panditarāja at once shows that he wrote on various subjects—(1) Stotras such as those of Visnu, Laksmī, Gangā and Yamunā, (2) Panegyrics of Prananārāyana of Kāmarūpa, Jagatsimha or Dara Shikoh and Āsaf, (3) Nature, e g the sun rise (see Sudhā lahari below), (4) Sanskrit Grammar such as Praudha manoramā kuca mardinī, (5) Sanskrit rhetorical literature, e g the Rasa Gangādhara, a commentary on the Kāvya prakāśa and Citra mimāmsā-khandana Again, the Bhāmini vilāsa which was composed for the purpose of having ready illustrations for the Rasa Gangadhara is a monumental work It contains, among many lyrical stanzas, a large number of Anyoktis which have been amply quoted by the Kosakāras in their anthologies

Some accounts of the extant works of Jagannātha Panditarāja are given below.

1 See p 72 of my edition of the Padyamrta tarangini.

1 *Amrta lahari*

The hymn of the Yamunā[1] in only eleven verses is meant for daily recitation during the bath[2] Here the poet earnestly desires to pass his days on the banks of the Yamunā as a mendicant (v 3) and prays to Krsna for salvation

2 *Āsaf vilasa*

This work is devoted to the praise of Nawab Āsaf Khān brother of Nur Jahan and minister of Shah Jahan It is being published for the first time as an Appendix to this work[3] As Āsaf Khan died in 1641 A D as is recorded in the chronogram *Zihe afsos Āsaf Khan*, this work must have been composed before that date and after the accession of Shah Jahan to the throne in 1628 A D, as he is described as 'Sarvabhauma' in the work itself

The work deals with Shah Jahan s visit to Kashmir and Āsaf Khan s whole hearted endeavour to promote royal happiness No historical account about Shah Jahan or Āsaf Khan is found in it

1. Edited by Pandit Durgaprasad and Kashinath Panduranag Parab *Kavya mala*, Part I pp 99 101 Bombay 1886
Verse no 11 अथ पण्डितराजेन श्रीजगन्नाथ शर्मणा ।
स्तवः कलिन्दनन्दिन्या निर्मलो निरमीयत ॥

2. एवं स्नान विधौ पठन्ति खलु ये नित्यं गृहीत-व्रता
स्नानामन्त्रित-संज्ञ्य जन्म-जनितं पापं क्षयादुज्झति ॥ V. 10

3 The MS used for our edition belongs to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, see P K Gode's Catalogue of Sansk MSS, Kavya volume.

3. *Bhāminī-vilāsa, also called Paṇḍitarāja-śataka* [1]

The work consists of four vilāsas, viz. Prastāvika vilāsa, Śṛṅgāra-vilāsa, Karuṇa-vilāsa and Śānta vilāsa Whereas in some editions the total number of verses found are 129, 183, 19 and 45 in the four vilāsas respectively, in others, again, there are 101, 102, 19 and 32 or 33 verses This great discrepancy in the number of verses in a comparatively recent book is, no doubt, puzzling. It shows, however, that the work enjoys great popularity. In all, 121 verses are left out in several editions Out of these about 100 are found in the Rasa-Gangādhara, and therefore, there is no doubt that these 100 verses were composed by Jagannātha himself though it may be doubted whether the author himself selected them for inclusion in his Bhāmini vilāsa The remaining 21 verses also bear the distinctive stamp of Jagannātha's poetic excellence and are, most probably, his own

Nāgeśa Bhatta in his commentary on the Rasa-Gangādhara says that the Bhāmini vilāsa was composed

1 Greek ed in 1845 Many Indian editions without commentaries since 1870 Ed. with commentary 'bhūṣaṇa of Mahādeva in the Grantha-ratna-mālā 1890, with the commentary of Manirāma by Victor Henry, Paris, 1885, with the 'vyākhyā by Yadunātha Tārkācārya Calcutta, Saṃskṛta Press, 1862 and with Kāvya-marma-prakāśa by Lakṣmaṇa Rāmacandra Vaidya, Bombay, Bhāratī Press, 1887.

earlier than the Rasa Gangādhara with the object of having ready illustrations for his Magnum opus [1]

Jagannātha Panditarāja says that he compiled the Bhāmini vilāsa as a selection of his verses in order that nobody else could claim them as his own [2] But a comparative study of his Bhāmini vilāsa with the Bhāva śataka[3] of Rudra Nyāyapañcānana or the Anyokti muktalatā[4] of Śambhu Mahakavi reveals that Jagannātha was indebted to both of them for his thought and imagery of a good many verses Śambhu Mahākavi was the court poet of king Harsa of Kashmir (1088 1100 A D) and flourished towards the close of the twelfth century A D And Rudra Nyayapañcānana son of Kāsinātha Vidyānivāsa of Bengal and brother of Viśvanātha Pañcanana Bhattācarya flourished in the second half of the sixteenth century and continued his literary

1 See Nagasa Bhatta's commentary on the sixth Introductory verse of the Rasa Gangādhara

2 At the end of the last part of the Bhāmini vilāsa, the poet says —

दुर्वृत्ता जार-जन्मानो हरिष्यन्तीति शङ्कया ।
मदीय-पद्य रत्नानां मञ्जूषेषा कृता मया ॥

3 Cp Bhamini vilasa, 1 1 with Bhāva vilāsa, 140 Bhāmini vilasa 9 with Bhāva vilasa 41 and 47 of the former with 26 of the latter, etc

4 Cp Bhāmini vilāsa, 1 2 with Anyokti muktā latā, 14, Bhāmini vilas 1, 19 with AM 72 BV, 20 with AM 26, BV 47 with AM 12 and so on

activities during the first half of the seventeenth century[1] His Bhāva śataka was composed at the instance of Bhāvasimha son of Manasimha[2]

The Prastāvika vilasa is really a collection of Anyoktis This vilāsa is also found printed under the title Anyokty ullasa with a Malayalam metrical version by M N Rāmakrsna Śāstrin[3]

The *Anyoktis* here are all grand in conception as well as expression The Padyāmrta tarangini which was composed a few years after the death of our poet Jagannātha quotes a few of these Anyoktis viz verses 1 5 7 and 14 of the Prastāvika vilāsas[4] The first one dwells upon the majesty of the great who justly terrify the rivals take pity for those who are meek and humble and do not cause any harm to the lowliest In verse no 5 the poet establishes that a respectable person must not be dishonoured In the next verse the poet resorts to the figure of speech Ślesa for bringing out the fact that a poor man must not feel discontented or be despaired, love and appreciation of others merits are sure

1 See Introduction to my edition of the Bhramara dūta

2 Ed in the Kāvya malā

3 Reprinted from the Kavana kaumudi, (Kottakal), 1916

4 Padyāmrta taranginī, verses 200 213, 252 and 194 respectively

to be his sustaining forces In verse no 34, the proverb "Carrying coal to Newcastle" has been happily substantiated with an illustration

4 *Citra-mīmāmsā-khandana* [1]

Our poet expressly statets that the defects of the Citra-mimāmsā of Appayya Diksita thoroughly dealt with in the Rasa-Gaṅgādhara are collected in an abbreviated form in this work [2] Appayya Diksita, another outstandingly great Sanskrit scholar of the South, was a sworn enemy of our poet and responsible for his unnatural death Unfortunately the Citra-mīmāmsā as well as the Rasa Gangādhada are both incomplete, no definite reasons for which can be assigned at the present state of our knowledge

1 Both the Citra-mīmāṃsā and the Citra-mimāṃsā-khaṇḍana have been edited in the Kāvya-mālā, No 38, Bombay, Nirṇaya-sāgar Press

2 सूक्ष्मं विभाव्य मयका समुदीरितानां-
मप्पय्य-दीक्षित-कृताविह दूषणानाम् ।
निर्मत्सरो यदि समुद्धरणं विदध्या-
दस्याहमुज्ज्वलमतेश्चरणौ वहामि ॥
रस-गङ्गाधरे चित्र-मीमांसाया मयोदिताः ।
ये दोषास्तेऽत्र संक्षिप्य कथ्यन्ते विदुषां मुदे ॥

The MS. from which the Citra mīmāṃsā khaṇḍana was edited in the Kāvya-mālā is dated 1652 A. D. and was, probably, written during the life-time of the author himself

5 *Gangā laharı*[1] *also called Pīyusa laharı*[2] *and Gangamrta laharı*

Several editors call Sadāśiva s commentary on the Gangā laharı as Pıyusa laharı The India Office Library possesses 45 editions of this work but none is a critical one This important work badly needs a critical edition The Gangā laharı of Jagannātha is a very sincere out burst of the feelings of a real devotee in 52 stanzas The poet here remarks with child like simplicity that he cares little for any other gods and goddesses as he feels sure of the affection of the Ganges for him, if she now becomes careless about him who else would come to his rescue who else would care to console him?'[3] Her holy water must put an end to his cycle of births[4]

1. *Printed in the Brhat stotra muktā hara, part II, stotra* no 395 pp 401 409, Bombay, Gujrati Printing Press, 1916

2 इमां पीयूषलहरीं जगन्नाथेन निर्मिताम् ।
य: पठेत्तस्य सर्वत्र जायन्ते जय-सम्पद: ॥ last verse

3 तवाऽऽलम्बादम्ब स्फुरदलघु-गर्वेण सहसा
मया सर्वेऽवज्ञा-सरणिमथ नीता: सुरगणा: ॥
इदानीमौदास्यं यदि भजसि भागीरथि तदा
निराधारो हा रोदिमि कथय केषामिह पुर: ॥६॥

4 मरुल्लीला-लोलल्लहरि लुलिताम्भोज-पटल
स्खलत्पांसु व्रातच्छुरणविसरत्कौङ्कुम-रुचि ।
सुरस्त्री वक्षोज क्षरदगरु-जम्बाल जटिलं
जलं ते जम्बालं मम जनन-जालं जरयतु ॥२१॥

Brahmā, Visnu and Śiva may safely cease to function if only the Ganges is alert about the welfare of the world[1] The lovely big eyes or the ears are simply useless if they do not see her or hear the sweet sound of her sportive waves[2] Many people resort to many austerities, but the poet knows only one way out for avoiding all troubles[3]

6 *Jagad-ābharana*

From the introduction of Durgāprasāda to the Rasa Gangādhara, it is known that he came across a MS of the Jagadābharana which had the readings Dārā or some epithets such as दिल्लीधरावल्लभ referring to him instead of प्राणनारायण. So it is certain that a MS of the poet's प्राणाभरण in that form was found devoted to the praise

1. विधत्तां निःशङ्कं निरवधि समाधिं विधिरहो
   सुखं शेषे शेतां हरिरविरतं नृत्यतु हरः ।
   कृतं प्रायश्चित्तैरलमथ तपोदान-यजनैः
   सवित्री कामानां यदि जगति जागर्ति भवती ॥२४॥
2. विशालाभ्यामाभ्यां किमिह नयनाभ्यां खलु फलं
   न याभ्यामालीढा परम-रमणीया तव तनुः ।
   अयं हि न्यक्कारो जननि मनुजस्य श्रवणयो-
   र्ययोर्नान्तर्यातस्तव लहरिलीला कलकलः ॥३२॥
3. भजन्त्येके देवान् कठिनतर-सेवांस्तदपरे
   वितान-व्यासक्ता यम नियम-रक्ताः कतिपये ।
   अहं तु त्वन्नाम-स्मरण-भृतकामस्त्रिपथगे
   जगज्जालं जाले जननि तृण-जालेन सदृशम् ॥४४॥

of Dārā Shikoh The late lamented S M. Paranjape, however, says in his edition of the Bhāminī-vilāsa that he came across a MS of the Jagadābharana which had the concluding verse and the colophon as follows —

तैलङ्गान्वय-मङ्गलालय-महालक्ष्मी-दया-लालित
श्रीमत्पेरम भट्ट-सूनुरनिशं विद्वल्ललाटन्तप ।
श्रीराणाकर्णनन्दन-जगत्सिंह-प्रभोर्वर्णन
श्रीमत्-पण्डितराय-सत्कवि-जगन्नाथो व्यतानीदिदम् ॥

इति महामहोपाध्याय पद वाक्य प्रमाण-पारावारीण तैलङ्ग-कुलावतंस-श्रीपेरम-भट्टसूरेस्तनयेन विनिर्मितं जगदाभरणाख्यं जगत्सिंह-वर्णनम् ॥

Jagatsimha, son of Karnasimha, was the Rānā of Udaipur and reigned from 1628-1654 A D Chronologically, there is no difficulty in the poet's composing the work in praise of Dārā Shikoh or Jagatsimha, and as it was he, who praised दिल्लीश्वर as जगदीश्वर,[1] one cannot be sure to whose praise the work was really devoted by the poet himself

7 *Karunā-lahari, also called Visnu-lahari*

In some MSS the name Karunā lahari is replaced by Visnu laharī[2] It is a hymn of Visnu or Krsna in 60

1 दिल्लीश्वरो वा जगदीश्वरो वा मनोरथान् पूरयितुं समर्थः ।
अन्यैर्नृपालैः परिदीयमानं शाकाय वा स्याल्लवणाय वा स्यात् ॥

2. Ed. in Kāvya mālā, part II by Pandit Durgāprasāda and Kāśīnāth Pandurañga Parab pp 55 61 see fn. 2, p. 55, Kāvya mālā 2

verses and is outstandingly lyrical throughout. The poet, as is clear from his other writings as well, was most religiously minded and in this hymn he declares that he cares for nothing else than the Lord.[1] A child falling into a pit is saved even by a passerby; the poet fallen into the sea must be saved by the father, the Lord.[2] The mind of the poet, a çakora in quest of moonbeams, is terribly scorched by the wild fire of the forest of Universe; the face-moon of the Lord must now save it by the award of what it so badly needs.[3]

8. *Kāvya-prakāśa-ṭikā.*

No MS. of this work could be availed of. Stein notices one MS. in his Catalogue of Sans. MSS. belonging to Raghunath Temple Library in Kashmir and Jammu (60. 269. 1-2).

1. उद्बुद्ध-फुल्लाम्बुज-मध्य-निर्गलन्मरन्द-निःस्यन्द-नितान्त-लम्पटः ।
मनोमिलिन्दो मम मुक्त-चापलस्त्वदन्यमीशान तृणाय मन्यते ॥ verse 4.

2. अपि गर्त-मुखे गतः शिशुः पथिकेनापि निवार्यते जवात् ।
जनकेन पतन् भवार्णवे न निवार्यो भवता कथं विभो ॥ verse 26.

3. विशाल-विषयाटवी-वलय-लग्न-दावानल-
प्रसृत्वर-शिखावली विकलितं मदीयं मनः ।
अमन्द-मिलदिन्दिरे निखिल-माधुरी-मन्दिरे
मुकुन्द-मुख-चन्द्रिरे चिरमिदं चकोरायताम् ॥ verse 59.

9 *Laksmı laharı*[1]

The Laksmı laharı consists of 41 verses ın Śıkharını metre and ıs a hymn of the goddess Laksmī The poet prays to her for removıng all hıs sıns and for her kındness to hım He consıders ıt superfluous that ın a hand that ıs matchless ın fragrance as well as tenderness adored by all poets, a lotus should bloom agaın, ıt ıs from thıs that the well known figure of speech Sımıle of the kāvyas orıgınated[2] The necklace of the goddess that represents the assemblage of all the beautıes ın the world and puts to an end all the troubles of the devotees should find out the means of the poet s salvatıon[3]

10 *Manoramā kuca mardana*[4]

[also called Praudha manoramā°]

Thıs work that has not as yet been publıshed ıs

1 Publıshed ın the Kavya malā, part II pp 104, 111

2. असम्यं सौरभ्यं कविकुल-नमस्या रचिरता
तथापि त्वद्धस्ते निवसदरविन्द विकसितम् ।
कलापे काव्यानां प्रकृति-कमनीय-स्तुतिविधौ
गुणोत्कर्षाधान प्रथितमुपमान समजनि ॥ verse 25

3 समाहार श्रीणां विरचितविहारो हरिदृशां
परीहारो भक्त-प्रभव भव सन्ताप सरणे ।
प्रहार सर्वासामपि च विपदां विन्ध्यदयिते
ममोद्धारोपायं तव सपदि हारो विमृशतु ॥ verse 27

4 Lıst of Mss belongıng to Pt Radhakrıshna of Lahore, 9 : Classıfied ındex to the Sans MSS. ın the Palace at Tanjore by Burnell, London, 1880 40b , Lısts of Sans Mss ın Prıvate Lıbrarıes of Southern Indıa by Gustav Oppert, MSS 4339 and 4499 , etc

devoted to a scathing criticism of Manoramā [Prauḍha-manoramā], Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's commentary on his Siddhānta-kaumudī.

11. *Prāṇābharaṇa.*

The poet composed this panegyric in 53 verses for expressing his heart-felt delight on hearing the verses of Prāṇanārāyaṇa, king of Kāmarūpa.[2] He highly praises Prāṇanārāyaṇa for his vast learning, particularly in verses 16 and 50. There is a ṭippaṇa on this work composed by the poet himself for bringing out the rhetorical excellence of each verse. Every stanza is designed to be an excellent example of one or more rhetorical figures of speech. Grand indeed is the verse (no. 52) containing a pun on the word 'Vāmā'[3] and the adjectives are so used that they may be interpreted both with reference to the enemies of the king as well as his wife. By means of a pun on the word 'Arjuna'[4] the poet

1. Ed. in the Kāvya-māla, Part I' pp. 79-90.

2. See the last verse (no. 52). No. 53 is an interpolation. The name of the king is given in verse no. 5. His designation कामरूपेश्वर is given in verses 2, 15 and 22.

3. आयस्तास्यलकाञ्चिरस्त्यसितमां चोलं रसाकाङ्क्षया
लङ्कायां वधतां तनोषि कुरुपे जङ्घा-ललाट-क्षतम् ।
प्रत्यङ्गं परिमर्द-निर्दयमहो चेतः समालम्बसे
वामानां विषये नृपेन्द्र भवतः प्रागल्भ्यमत्यद्भुतम् ॥ Verse 7.

4 अपारे खलु संसारे विधिनैकोऽर्जुनः कृतः ।
कीर्त्या निर्मलया भूप त्वया सर्वेऽर्जुनाः कृताः ॥ Verse 43.

charmingly describes the fame of the king extending all over the world [1]

The MS of the Prānābharana belonging to the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library (no 3828) gives the name of the poet's father as Raghunātha Bhatta and has the reading 'Kamalādhīpasya' instead of 'Kamatādhipasya' in verse 53 Again, at the end of this MS there is a long prose passage which is not found in the printed edition

12 *Rasa-Gangādhara*

Jagannātha Panditarāja was not only a great poet but also one of the best rhetoricians India has ever produced The Rasa Gangādhara of Jagannātha Panditarāja is one of the best rhetorical works of India from every point of view, viz , clarity of expression, superb judgment depth of insight, wide range of learning and so on All the examples of the work are Jagannātha's own composition

Unfortunately the work is available in an incomplete form breaking off in the middle of the Uttara alamkāra No definite reason for its incompletion is known His Citra mimāmsā khandana shows that it was composed after the Rasa Gangādhara and one would naturally think that Jagannātha Panditarāja really completed the work,

1, गगने चन्द्रिकायन्ते हिमायन्ते हिमाचले ।
पृथिव्यां सागरायन्ते भूपाल तव कीर्तयः ॥ Verse 48

though the remaining portion of it is not available today even in MS form Or it may be that in his anxiety to oppose vehemently his greatest rival Appayya Diksita he really undertook the work °khandana even before the Rasa Gangādhara was completed The tradition that the learned scholar courted death along with his wife Lavangi owing to the deliberate insult meted out by Appayya Diksita probably furnishes a clue as to why both the Rasa Gangādhara and Citra mimāmsā khandana are found incomplete

13 *Sudhā lahari*[1]

The Sudhā lahari presents a grand description of sun rise in 30 verses in the metre Sragdharā The Sun rising in the East from the Udayagiri causes immense delight to all—particularly, to the lotus It is the best healer of all diseases and inspirer to all devotees Its rays shooting through trees and falling on the earth appear to young parrots like sticks and they therefore, try to put their legs on them the dew drops on leaves mixed with them resemble the pomegranate seeds in order to eat which they open their beaks[2] The Sun is the son of

1. Ed in the Kavya mala, Part I pp 16 22
2 निर्भिद्य क्ष्मारुहाणामतिघनमुदरं येषु गोत्रां गतेषु
द्राघिष्ठ स्वर्णदण्ड-भ्रमभृतमनसः संनिधित्सन्ति पादान् ।
ये संभिन्ने दलाग्र प्रचल हिमकणे दाडिमी-बीजबुद्ध्या
चञ्चू-व्याघ्रस्यमञ्चन्ति च शुकशिशवस्तेऽशवः पान्तु भानोः ॥५॥

Indra by the Eastern horizon as it were and therefore, it appears as though the birth rites are performed in the morning [1] The drops of water offered as oblation to the Sun appear like so many jewels in course of their fall to the ground [2] *The Sun is ever merciful to all men* inasmuch as it seeks the aid of the Fire god for their protection during its absence at night [3]

14 *Yamunā varnana, a prose work*

No complete MS of it is as yet traced Only two quotations from it are preserved for us in the Rasa Gangādhara [4]

Jagannātha Panditarāja flourished at a time when even the vernacular poets were excessively fond of introducing alliteration in composition Several Hindi verses of Vihārin and Sanskrit verses of Jagannātha Pandita rāja are very much alike in style as well as thought There are traces of the influence of his age upon Jagan nātha Panditarāja, e g it was customary among aristo

1. See v. 8, कीलाले कुङ्कुमानां, etc
2. See v 13, अन्तर्नीरं नदीनां etc
3. निर्यास्यन्त समुद्र सकलमपि वृथा भारमाधाय वह्ना-
वह्नायाह्नासघोश स भवतु भवता भूयसे मङ्गलाय ॥२३॥
4. Nirnaya-Sāgara ed , p 21, "तनय-मैनाक-गवेषण लम्बीकृत-जलधि-जठर प्रविष्ट हिमगिरि-भुजायमानाया भगवत्या भागीरथ्या सखी", p 159 "रवि-कुल प्रीतिमावहन्ती नर विकुलप्रीतिमावहसि। अवारित प्रवाहा एवारित प्रवाहा।"

crats during Mughal rule to maintain a couple of pigeons There is a verse in the *Rasa Gangādhara* which refers to a pair of these love birds [1]

Jagannātha Panditarāja is undoubtedly one of the greatest rhetoricians in Sanskrit, if not the very greatest If he could have completed the Rasa Gangādhara, he would have undoubtedly eclipsed the glory of all the rhetoricians of India It is only unfortunate that such an outstanding personality should have faced such a sad end of life He was a great poet as well as a good prose-writer It may be taken for granted that his Kāvyaprakāśa tikā bears the same stamp of rhetorical perfection as the Rasa Gangādhara does It is a great pity that such an important work should still be known in name only We implore to the authorities of the Raghunath Temple Library, Kashmir and Jammu, to undertake the publication of this work at the earliest opportunity It may also be presumed that the work of our Panditarāja

1 Cp e g,

नीलाञ्चलेन सवृतमाननमाभाति हरिणनयनाया ।
प्रतिबिम्बित इव यमुना-गभीर-नीरान्तरेणाङ्क ॥ P 258 of RG

with Vihārin's verse —

दिप्यो छबीलो मुह लसे नीले आंचलचीर ।
मनो कलानिधि झलमले कालिन्दीके नीर ॥
निरुध्य यान्तीं तरसा कपोतीं कूजत्कपोतस्य पुरो ददाने ।
मयि स्मिताद्र वदनारविन्दं सा मन्दमन्दं नमयांबभूव ॥

P. 97 of R G.

on Sanskrit Grammar, the Monoramā kuca mardana, would be also a work of outstanding merit Trained in the *same school* as *that of Bhattoji Diksita* and probably, his contemporary too—in any case, a direct disciple of Vireśvara, son of Seśakrsna Bhattoji s guru—Jagannātha Panditarāja was eminently fit for this critical work Jagan nātha s panegyrics of the then kings of India and hymns on various deities are also quite up to the standard of the author of the Rasa Gangādhara

SEVERAL OTHER SANSKRIT POETS PATRONISED BY MUSLIM RULERS

Amrtadatta was the court poet of Shahabuddin who severely threatened Mirasaha planning for the invasion of Kashmir[1] Shahabuddin must have flourished in or before the twelfth century when Śridharadasa author of the Sadukti karnāmrta adorned the court of Laksmanasena as is evident from the fact that one of the verses of Amrtadatta is quoted in the Sad ukti karnamrta[2] This verse and several other verses[3] quoted

1 Verse 608 and of the Subhasitavali —

काश्मीरागन्तुकामस्य मीरशाहाख्य भूपते ।
शाहाबुद्दीन भूमीन्द्र प्राहिणोदिति लेखकम् ॥
किमेवमविशङ्कित शिशु-कुरङ्ग लोल कम
परिक्रमितुमीहसे विरम नैव शून्यं वनम् ।
स्थितोऽत्र गजयूथ नाथ-मथनोच्छलोच्छोणित
च्छटा पटल भासुरोत्कट-सटा भर केसरी ॥ मा० अमृतदत्तस्य

2 II 20 3 p 81 Lahore ed , उत्तराप्रथ कान्ताना etc

3 Verses of Amrtadatta quoted in the SSV

			Subjects
No	805	अत्यन्तशीतलतया सुभग०	[वृत्तान्योक्ति॰]
,,	2455 :	अपूर्व धनुर्विद्या	[चाटूक्ति॰]
,	429	अमरैरमृतं न पीत	[दुजन निन्दा]
,	2456 :	अमी पान करम्भाभा	[चाटूक्ति॰]

in the Subhasitavali are not found anywhere else Two of his verses are found in the Subhasitavali as well as the Suktimuktavali of Jalhana [1]

			Subjects
No	2454	श्राहते तव नि सायो	[चाटूक्ति]
	50	उद्वृत्त दन्य०	[श्राशीवच]
,,	949	एव चेद्विधिना कृत	[मरु]
,	72	कर जालमपूर०	[श्राशीवच]
,	148	कवीना महतां	[कवि-काव्य प्रशसा]
,	609	किमेत्रमविशङ्कित	[सिहान्योक्ति]
,	940	कि पान्थ निमधन०	[मरु]
,	2457	कीर्तिस्ते जात०	[चाटूक्ति]
,	2291	कृष्णा क्रीडितवान् गामि	[हास्यम्]
,	156	जीवित इव कण्ठगत सूक्ते	[कवि काव्य प्रशसा]
	1030	त्रैलोक्योपकृति०	[विन्ध्यवासिनी]
,	2458	दुनोति स्वामत्वत	[चाटूक्ति]
,	989	दर्वी क दुरतिहरा भगिनी	[मैनाक]
,	853	न पालयति मर्यादा	[समुद्र]
	796	फल-कुसुम किसलयोज्ज्वल०	[वृन्त]
,,	34	मदमयमदमथदुरग	[श्राशीवच]
	966	मृदु-सुभग परिकरस्चो	[कामदेव]
,	73	युष्माकमम्बर मया	[श्राशीवच]
,	2477	सकृपाया द्विषा	[चाटूक्ति]
,	718	समुद्गिरसि वाच कि	[कोकिलान्योक्ति]
,	2453	सरस्वती स्थिता थक	[चाटूक्ति]
,	2574	सौभाग्यस्य समपयन	[,,]

1 SSV 1032, कीदृशं भ्रान्ति-प्रकारस्तव etc

Suktimuktavali p 61 v 6

1143 भक्ति-प्रह्व विलोकन०, etc

Suktimuktavali p 27 v 64

This second verse has been quoted by Mammata also in his Kavya prakasa

Amṛtadatta is a good poet. Some of his verses are really enjoyable. Thus in censuring the wicked, he says that neither the nectar was drunk by the gods, nor the poison by Śiva but they persist still in the world in the honeyed speech and the heart of the wicked respectively.[1]

Again censuring the desert, the poet says he censures it not because it cannot be of any service to anybody but because it deceives the thirsty people by deluding them through mirage.[2]

In his verse on the sentiment of Laughter, Lakṣmī is said to be fond of the dull-witted (go-buddhi) because *her husband used to play with the cows (go-s).* As a chaste lady, she is intensely devoted to those who have some semblance with the favourites of her husband.[3] This refers to the traditional enmity between the two co-wives Lakṣmī, the goddess of Fortune and Sarasvatī,

1. अमरैरमृतं न पीतमब्धेर्न च हालाहलमुल्वणं हरेण ।
विधिना निहितं खलस्य वाचि द्वयमेतद्बहिरेकमन्तरन्यत् ॥
भा० अमृतदत्तस्य ॥ *SSV. 429,*

2. एवं चेद्विधिना कृतोऽस्युपकृतौ कस्याञ्चिदप्यक्षमः
कामं मोपकृथास्ततस्तव मरो वाच्यं न घोरो भव ।
किन्त्वारान्मृगतृष्णयोपजनयन्नम्भोमुचां वञ्चनां
प्रेम्णाकर्षसि तर्ष-मूर्छित-धियोऽप्यन्यानतः शोच्यसे ॥ SSV. 949

3. कृष्णः क्रीडितवान् गोभिरिति गो-तुल्य-बुद्धिषु ।
पक्षपातवती लक्ष्मीरहो देवी पतिव्रता ॥ SSV. 2291.

the goddess of Learning, Laksmi is said to favour the dull witted while scholars are destined to suffer from poverty It is not improbable that the verse has a personal significance

In his verse on the sea he says the sea may at times transgress its coastal limit (maryāda) but never violates the self imposed rule (maryādā) that it would not be of any service to the thirsty [1] In the verse भक्ति प्रह्व विलोकन etc he exhibits his skill in intellectual exercises He uses all the adjectives to Netre (neuter dual) and tanuh (feminine singular) as well as the verb in such a way that they qualify both Netre and tanuh without any alteration in form :—

> भक्ति-प्रह्व-विलोकन प्रणयिनी नीलोत्पल-स्पर्धिनी
> ध्यानालम्बनतां समाधि-निरतैर्नीतेहित प्राप्तये ।
> लावण्यस्य महानिधी रसिकता लक्ष्मीदृशास्तन्वती
> युष्माकं कुरुता भवार्ति-शमन नेत्रे तनुर्वा हरे ॥ SSV. 43

In this verse the poet prays that either the eyes of Hari or his body may remove all the sorrows of the people due to the cycle of births From the available verses however, Amrtadatta does not seem to have possessed a very fertile imagination and novelty of thought His verses are rather stereotyped

1 न पासयति मर्यादां वेलाख्यामम्बुधिस्तथा ।
तृष्यतां नोपकर्तव्यमितीमामपरां यथा ॥ SSV. 853.

PUṆḌARĪKA VITTHALA

Pundarika mainly wrote on Music He belonged to the court of Burhan Khan of the Pharuki family which ruled between 1370-1600 A D at Anandavalli in Khandesh Burhan's father and grand father were Taj Khan and Ahmed Khan respectively Subsequently Pundarika came to the court of Mādhavasimha of the Kacchapa dynasty, son of Bhagavantadāsa and grandson of Bhānu and composed his Rāga mañjari at his instance Pundarika was a favourite of Akbar as well

As the Rāga mālā of the same author is dated Śaka 1498 (1576 A D), Pundarika must have flourished in the middle of the 16th century A D [1]

HARINĀRĀYANA MIŚRA

The Padya veni preserves two verses by this poet in one of which he praises Emperor Shah Jahan (1628 1658 A D.) and therefore, he flourished about three hundred years ago The last line of this verse presents some difficulty in sense, probably, the readings of both the MSS are corrupt, still, the verse[2] is a good one

1. Bhandarkar's Reports, 1884-87, No 1026

2. मृम्नमौलि सटीतु, etc PV. 144=SS. 138 For the complete verse, See Supplement : Shah Jahan.

VAMŚIDHARA MIŚRA

The Padyāmrta taranginī preserves one verse of Vamśidhara Miśra who was a great favourite of the queen of Shah Jahan Thus in one verse Jagganātha Panditarāja favourite poet of Shah Jahan says that he is a Lion who does not find anywhere even an elephant, all that he sees around him are really deer who are easily assailable Vamśidhara Miśra, however, retorts him by saying that Jagannātha as the favourite of Mahādeva (Shah Jahan) is really a bull It is he not Jagannātha Panditarāja who as a favourite of Durgā (the queen) is really the Lion and is capable of vanquishing all others [1]

1 Padyāmrta taranginī v 200 p 49 :—

दिगन्ते श्रूयन्ते मद-मलिन-गण्डा करटिन
करिण्य कारुण्यास्पदमसम शीलाः खलु मृगा ।
इदानीं लोकेऽस्मिन्ननुपम शिखानां पुनरयं
नखानां पाण्डित्यं प्रकटयतु कस्मिन्मृगपतिः ॥
पण्डितराजस्य ॥

Op cit., v 201 p. 49 :—

दिग्भागा ग्रसितेर्हि प्रथमतो जाग्रैव आगच्छतो
गम्भीराम्भ-कुट विमलोऽप कृतो गौरेव गौरीशे ।
विकाशेनिवर्त करोतु कलं नाम त्रिमोहो त्वये
भ्रोत्कास-पुर्ष्मिनी-करणया भिन्तः न कल्पेन ॥
वंशीधर मिश्रस्य ॥

Commenting on the second verse, Jayarāma author of Sopāna, commentary of the Padyāmrta taranginī of his father Haribhāskara, says :—

"प्रथमेऽस्मिन्पद्ये दिग्गज-मदमलिन-गण्डाः ... ततः वंशीधर-नाम

CATURBHUJA

This poet and rhetorician composed his Rasa kalpa druma for the gratification of his patron Shayasta Khan Aurangzib's maternal uncle and General Unfortunately, this valuable work has not as yet been published[1] It was written in Samvat 1745 or 1689 A D (बाणाब्धिशशाङ्काङ्के वैशाखे पूर्णिमागुरौ) i e the 31st year of Ālamgir s reign Herein he gives the genealogy of his patron —

Itamāddoula
|
Asak Khān
|
Shayasta Khan[2]

कथिपनाम्यापरूपपयेन मत्सुतरमदागनुपन्यम्यति दिङ्नागा इति । यदि वृषभे गौरीपति-सम्बन्धेन विभ्रम सम्भाव्यते तथा मय्यपि कमटेकाल-कुटुम्बिनी-सम्बन्धेन न तुल्य एव, परन्तु वृषभे जाति-कृता विभ्रम संभावना नैव प्रादुर्भवेदिति पनमपवाद कमटकास इत्यादिना "।

1 Ms belongs to the Ulwar Maharaja Mss Library, see Peter Peterson's Catalogue of Sansk Mss, No 1067

2 साप रायमहीभुजां प्रतिभट-व्यालोक-धमध्वनी
रायभा-मनवृत्ति-वेष्टित भुज-स्तम्भ-द्वयः सद्य ।
यद्दायां करि कर्ण्तालज-मदस्यन्द-प्रवाहागमः
स्वामुन्मौलि-प्रपालिताङ्घ्रि रइतमाहौपैलिमामाऽभवत् ॥८॥
त्रिभुवन जन-गीताद्दाम धाप प्रताप
भरद कमल-मत्तोन्मारिमाभेक-नाद ।
यदि च वंशरावषेमोगप-मकम्प धीरः
एतन्नुपाद राजा तनुजन्मानु वभाति ॥९॥

This work consists of Caturbhuja's verses as well as those of other poets viz Acalarudra, Aniruddha, Avilamba, Īśvaradāsa Ugragraha, Kamsanārāyana, Kavīndra, Kuñjakutira Kulapati, Krsnānanda Miśra Gadādhara, Gaudayādava King Jaganmani(?) Dhakkā rāva, Daśāvadhāna, Dhanadeva, Navina Kavindra, Nāthamiśra, Pañcānana, Paraśurāma, Bhārati-Kavi Bhūpati-Miśra, Mandana, Mati, Mahāmanusya Mohana Miśra, Raghupati, Rantideva, Rāmacandra Sarasvatī, Rāmarāma, Ruci, Vasanta, Vāṇirasāla, Vāhinipati, Viśvambhara, Vidyānidhi, *Shayasta Khan*, Samjayā(?), Kavirāja, Sarvadasa, Svasthāna Miśra, Haripati Bhatta and Harindra Besides these, the verses of three women poets have also been quoted, viz Madhura valli, Lakhyā and Vidyā The pratikas of their verses are given below.—

यद्वानन्तु जगत्प्रसिद्धमभवद्राज्यानि यथाधका
राजान सुलतानशाह-सदृशा ये धापरे मानिन ।
यद्भृत्याश्च नृपा नृपास्त्वनुचरा यस्य प्रतापो रवि-
श्चन्द्रो यस्य यशोऽभ्युदेत्यसक-खानासीन्नृपो सोऽद्भुत ॥७॥
अस्ति स्वस्तिकर समस्त-जगती-वास्तव्य-लोकस्य यो
ध्वस्ताशस्त सपत्न मस्तक-भरो लक्ष्म्याऽतिवास्तोऽप्यसि ।
यस्त स्तुत्य-यशा निरस्त-तिमिर-स्तोमो मनस्वस्तत·
शास्ताखान-नृपो विहस्त-मतिमुच्छ्रस्त्रास्त्र-शास्त्रार्थवे ॥८॥
जानामि तत्प्राप्य सुधर्मशीलं स्तवाय तावद्वचनानि येषा ।
शायस्त-खानस्य यश प्रताप-साम्याय सोम-द्युमणी मनज्ञे ॥९॥
तस्यानुरञ्जनायैव ग्रन्थ नव रसात्मकम् ।
चतुर्भुजो रचयति स्वपद्यैश्च परैरपि ॥

1. Madhuravallī—(i) रक्ताशोक कृशोदरी ; (ii) दुर्जन-विभव० ; (iii) वधिरस्येव शु— , (iv) दिव्यचक्षुरह , (v) मित्र तत्र भवता , (vi) निःक्षिप्त कबरी , (vii) कुवलय-नयना

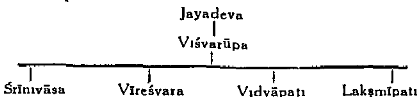
2. Lakhyā:—(i) अयमहो रजनी

3. Vidyā:—(i) धन्यास्त तास

There are sixty-five Prastāvas or chapters and one thousand verses in the Rasa-kalpa-druma.

LAKṢMĪPATI

The lineage of the poet[1] as given by himself in the Ābdullāh-carita,[2] published as Vol I of Sanskrit History Series from the Prācyavani, Calcutta, 1948 is as follows:—



The date of the composition of the work is 1643 of the Śaka era i e 1721 A.D.

Lakṣmīpati composed the work with the object of bringing to the notice of his ruler-patron how mischief-mongers bring about the destruction of great people as well as of the poor, particularly, with the object of secur-

1. विश्व-विख्यात-भूदेवो जयदेवात्मजो महान् ।
विश्वरूपः स्मृतो लोके चत्वारस्तु सुता. स्मृताः ॥
तेषामाद्यः श्रीनिवासो नाम-तुल्य-गुणान्वित· ।
वीरेश्वरो द्वितीयस्तु विद्या-विनय-विक्रमी ॥
लक्ष्मीपतिश्चतुर्थस्तु तस्य या लिपि-मालिका ।
विदुषां चित्त-कमले भ्रमरीवास्तु सा भृशम् ॥

2. Prepared from the only MS belonging to Calcutta Sanskrit College Library, No 2484

ing his own position against all the odds that might befall him[1]

Mahammad Shah ascended the throne in 1720 The historical incidents dealt with in the work mostly took place between 1707 when Alamgir died and 1721, the *second year* of the reign of Mahammad Shah[2]

1. See p 71, vv. 1798—1804

राजकार्यकरे द्वेषस्तनयस्यापि जायते ।
तद्वयास्तस्य पैशुन्यं क्रियते निखिलैर्जनै ॥
राजान्तिके तदुक्तया तु क्रियते तेन तत्पर ।
सहकार तरु छित्त्वा निम्बस्याऽऽरोपणं यथा ॥
क्रियते केनचित् तथा राज्ञा तु चोत्तमम् ।
मन्त्रिणं नाशयित्वा तु क्रियते सचिव पर ॥
कुञ्जरो न महामात्रं विना तिष्ठति वै यथा ।
तथा नृपोऽपि सचिवं विना तिष्ठति न क्वचित् ॥
लोकोक्त्या मन्त्रिविध्वंसो राजभि सर्व-भावत ।
मन्यते पुरुषार्थस्तु नितरामपुमर्थक ॥
यवदुष्टो यथा लोक-वाक्यतो भूमिजानिना ।
निगृहीतोऽस्ति लोकानामुक्तितस्तु तथा मम ॥
मत्स्वामिनाऽपि कर्तव्यो निग्रहस्त्विति जानता ।
मया विलिखितं चास्ति यत् किञ्चिदत्र तत्पुन ॥
हिन्दुकेश्चापि यवनैर्नितरां तु पदस्थिते ।
वाचनीयमिदं प्रीत्या स्व-पद-स्थैर्य हेतवे ।
लोकोक्त्या न मयि द्वेष कर्तव्यो मम नायक ॥

2 *Cf. the Later Mughals by William Irvine, ed, by (Sir)* Jadunath Sarkar, vol I (1707 1720) and vol II (1721-1739). Calcutta, M. C. Sircar and Sons, 1922

This work contains copious references to Akbar, Jehangir, Shah Jahan and particularly Aurangzeb[1]

Laksmipati deals, in this campū Abdullācarita with the events leading to the campaign against Mahammad Shah, son of Aurangzeb, launched upon by his minister Abdullah and the reinstatement of the latter to the post of minister of Delhi Abdullah, Husian Ali Khan and Surphadi Saiyed Khan were three brothers of whom Abdullah was the minister of Delhi Husain Ali Khan was also a very influential man Mahammad Shah was much indebted to Abdullah for many reasons, still, as he became apprehensive of the tremendous power of Abdullah, he decided to assassinate Hasan which he actually did As a consequence, Abdullah led a vast army against him but was subsequently defeated Mahammad's army did not kill Abdullah because he was a Saiyad Mahammad himself reinstated him to his post of minister as a token of his previous gratitude to Abdullah It is clear from the

1. E g. p 32, v. 897—

औरङ्गजेवमारभ्य व्यवहारस्त्वयाऽखिल ।
दृष्टोऽस्ति त्वद्विधैरेव माद्दशामन्तिकेऽन्वहम् ।

P 33, v 842—

दाराशाह निरुत्साह-युक्त कृत्वा रणाङ्गने ।
औरङ्गजेव-हस्ताब्जे नय-लक्ष्मी समर्पिता ।

p 35, v. 947—Mahammad Shah is here addressed औरङ्ग-जेवभूनाथ-कुलाम्भोधि-कलानिधे । येदिल्ली मम जाताऽस्ति

For all references to these names See General Index

work that Laksmipati was a good Sanskrit scholar showing here as he does his thorough acquaintance with various branches of Sanskrit literature, particularly, Nyāya [1] Jyotisa [2] and Tantra [3] He also profusely quotes many maxims verses from the Bhagavad gitā the Bhāgavata and so on He shows his proficiency in the Koran as well [4]

That Laksmipati was thoroughly conversant with Arabic and Persian is evidenced by his use of a large number of Arabic and Persian words in his composition Although the value of this sort of admixture of different languages may be questioned it must be said to his credit that the sense and the metre are not in any way jeopardised E g

V 34 स नरो गोस्तनीं त्यक्त्वा करोति गोश्त (گوشت)[5]-भक्षणम् ।

V 36 यतस्ततो मया भुक्त्वा जहर (زهر)[6] त्यज्यते वपु ।

V 66 गुणाह्म-तरा (گناه)[7] त्यक्त्वा करोति स्वस्य दिलके (دل)[8] ।
कम्बक्त (کمبخت)[10] सोऽपि ज्ञातव्य कुलद्रुम कुठारकः ॥

V 35 अस्मानि च तयोर्दत्त पञ्जरस्थित-शेरवत् (شیر)[9] ।

V 69 स वाक्यरहितो. . जवाब (جواب)[11] किं प्रदास्यति ।

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1 E g v 1313. प्रतिबन्धक-काले तु न कार्य कारणादपि। जायते तु etc , p 104 येन दण्ड-कार्पेय, etc v 777
2 E g vv 436-463
3 V 716 also ref to Ṣat cakra nirupaṇa
4 E g v 611—पोषित्पुरुषयोर्वैर निषिद्धमस्ति वै यथा ।
5 Flesh (here beef) 6 poison
7 Without vice 8 In the soul
9 Like a lion 10 Sinner, unfortunate 11 Reply

V. 73 वजीरेषु (وزیر)[1] च योपित्सु दुष्मणी (دشمنی)[2] यैर्विधीयते।
V. 79 चन्द्रेण मुस्तरी (مشتری)[3] भार्या सर्वदा वज्रि-वन्दिता।
V. 83 शराब (شراب)[4] पानतो नष्ट-चश्मैः (چشم)[5] नृपति-नन्दनैः।
V. 84 मदान्धस्तु यथा पीलो (پیلو)[6] महामात्रस्य, etc.
V. 91 तत्कालमेव खबर (خبر)[7] ग्राहकेण सुबुद्धिना।
V. 93 माहताब (مهتاب)[8] कर-स्पृष्टमम्भोजमिव दृश्यते।
V. 92 शुवाह गोछ्लं (غسل)[9] कृत्वा...
V. 600 हिलालमन्तरा (هلال)[10] चन्द्र आशमाने (اسمان)[11] न विराजते।
,, ,, फ़ामोशी (فراموشی)[13] न विधातव्यो वरदास्तं[14] (برداشت)
विधीयताम्।
V. 608 दलिल (دلیل)[12] मस्ति मे सत्य...

Lakṣmīpati was also thoroughly conversant with the political conditions of the whole of the North India of his time as copious references to many places and personalities show.[15] He was not only a poet but also a good historian. It is, however, regrettable that he sometimes lets his imagination get the upper hand with the result that the facts stated are at times exaggerated.

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1. Vizir. 2. Enmity.
3. Jupiter. 4. Wine. 5. Eyes
6. Elephant. 7. News. 8. The moon.
9. Bath. 10. Crescent. 11. Sky.
12. Bond; evidence. 13. Anger. 14. Tolerance.
15. E.g. करोति मिरजुमला स्तुतिं यस्य तु सर्वदा।
घवदुल्लेन किं तेन क्रियते ज्ञायते न सत्॥ V. 735
पठाना रोहलाकाश्च मुगलाः सैयदास्तथा।
येनाऽऽत्मीयाः कृताः सन्ति तेनाग्रे किं विधीयते॥ V. 737.
ढक्का-प्रदेशे यश्चास्ति भवत्-पूर्वज-सम्मतः।
सोऽपि नायाति त्वां द्रष्टुम् घवदुल्ल-भयान्वितः॥ V. 852.

PROPAGATION OF SANSKRITIC LEARNING DURING MUSLIM RULE

In Mediaeval ages the Mahomedan rulers devoted much attention to the spread of Sanskritic knowledge and Culture In this respect the attention of the Moslem rulers of Bengal was first drawn to the two great Epics, the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata Nasir Shah of Bengal (1282-1325 A D) to whom our great Vidyāpati dedicated one of his *padas*,[1] ordered the first Bengali rendering of the Mahābhārata It is not exactly known whether Krttivāsa undertook the execution of the Bengali version of the Rāmāyana at the instance of a Moslem ruler or of Kamsanārāyana Even though the latter might have ordered the same the initiative was certainly obtained from Nasir Shah The Bhāgavata purana was translated into Bengali by Malādhara Basu at the instance of Emperor Husain Shah Kavindra Parameśvara translated up to the Stri parvan of the Mahābhārata by order of Parāgal Khan, general of Husain Shah The encouragement Parāgal gave the poet is unique Every evening he and his courtiers con gregated in his palace at Paragalpur in Feni for listening

1. In one of his Padas, Vidyāpati respectfully refers to another ruler of Bengal viz Sultan Ghiyasuddin II (1367-1373 A D)

to Kavindra's translation His son Chuti Khān also encouraged Śrikara Nandin for carrying out a similar work When he became the Governor of Chittagong he ordered Śrikara to translate the Aśvamedha Parvan of the Mahābhārata which he did

Not only the rulers of Bengal but also the Imperial rulers of Delhi encouraged the propagation of Sanskritic learning in various ways Bābar was a firm believer in Hindu Astronomy which consequently, became a very popular subject for studies throughout his kingdom He makes significant remarks about this science in connection with the observatory at Samarqand the calculations of which were followed by all Indian Mahomedans[1] Nothing much about Humāyūn's enterprise for the spread of Sanskritic learning or his encouragement to Sanskritic scholars is known But his great son Ākbar compensated enough for this lack if any on his father's part In 1582 A D, he ordered Naqib Khān to translate the Mahābhārata He evinced much personal interest in this work He personally explained to Naqib night after night the procedure to be followed for its successful execution He ordered Ābdul Qadir author of Tārikh i Badaūni, to assist Naqib in this

1 Erskine's Memoirs of Babar, pp 50 51 Ulugh Beg Mirza entrusted the charge to Qazizadah Rumi, on his death, to Maulanā Ghiyasuddin Jamshid, and subsequently to Ibn' Ali Muhammad Koshji

work Two *parvans* were translated within a few months Then Mulla Sheri and Sultān Hāji Thāneswari collaborated Shaikh Faizi was engaged in versifying the rough translation, but he progressed only up to the second Book Hāji who was engaged in revising Faizi s work was dismissed after he had finished only a fraction of the work This work was not a literal translation but really a summary of this great epic This condensed version was named Razm Namah or Book of War [1] Subsequently it was highly decorated with pictures For the MS of this work Akbar spent £40 000 The preface to the work was written by Abul Fazl and copies of the work were distributed among the nobles [2] By order of the emperor, Abdul Qadir began the translation of the Rāmāyana in 1585 A D and completed the same in 1589 A D [3] At his instance, again, a converted Mahomedan of the South and Ābdul Qādir began the translation of the Atharva veda On account of their failure in doing the work properly, it was entrusted to Shaik Faizi Subsequently, however, the duty devolved upon Hāji Ibrāhim Sarhindi [4]

1. Martin notices in his Miniature Painting and Painters of India, Persia and Turkey, vol I, P 127 that the MS is at present at Jaipur

2 Gladwin's Āin i Akbari, p 85, and Tarikh i Badaūnī, Elliot, V, p 537 538

3 Tārikh i Badāunī, Elliot V, p, 539

4 Lowe's Muntakhabul Tawārikh, Vol II p 216

Faizi translated into Persian the Lilāvati and Mukammal Khān Gujrāti the astronomical work Tājak Maulānā Shāh Muhammad Shāhbādi translated the *History of Kashmir* in Sanskrit into Persian This history translated is, probably, to be distinguished from the Rāja tarangini as Maulānā Imāmuddin is the reputed translator of this work[1] A Persian version of the *Hari vamśa was made* by Nasrullah Mustafā and of the Pañcatantra under the title *Kalīlah Damnah* by Maulānā Husiani Wāiz An easier adaptation of the latter work was also made under the title 'Ayār Dānish'[2] The model of Layalā and Majnūn was followed in the Persian version of the famous story of Nala and Damayanti under the title Nal Daman[3] The Emperor ordered Abdul Qādir to translate the Dvātrimśat Puttalikā-Simhāsana[4] with the help of a learned Brāhmana under the title Khirad Afzā Nāmah[5] The Gangādhara and the Maheśa Mahānanda were translated under the general supervision of Abul Fazl[6]

1. Elliot V, p 478 Asiatic Researches, vol XV, p 2, and Blochmann's Āin-i Akbarī, vol I, p 106
2 Gladwin's Āin i Akbarī, p 87
3 Faizi s collection was in possession of 101 copies of this work, Tārikh i Badāunī Elliot, V, p 548
4 Also called Simhāsana dvātrimsat, Vikramārka carita, Dvātrimśat-puttalikā simhasana Dvātrimśat puttalikā and Simhāsana dvātrimśikā
5 Tarikh i-Badaunī, Elliot, V, pp 483, 484 and 513
6 Blochmann's Ain i-Akbarī, p 104

Dārā Shikoh was a *great* Sanskrit scholar He patronised a very large number of Brahmana Panditas hailing from all over India particularly, Benares and with their help he translated into Persian several Upanisads under the name Sirr ul Akbar or the Great Secret He states in the preface to the work that he became a disciple, while at Kashmir, of a great Sūfi called Mulla Shah and studied a lot about Sūfi ism His labour was in vain, Sufi ism could not give the peace of mind he was earnestly seeking for. This however he obtained from a study of the Vedas and the Upanisads [1] On account of his very deep interest in Sanskrit and great respect for Hindu Culture, he always engraved the word Prabhu or Lord on his Diamond rings and other valuable articles His Sirr ul Akbar was completed in 1657 A D [2] He also translated the Yoga Vasistha though two earlier Persian translations of this already existed one being executed under the patronising care of his great grand father Akbar In order to demonstrate a real harmony between Sūfi ism and Hindu pantheism he composed in 1654 A D a very valuable work called the Samudrasangama[3] on the technical terms of Hindu pantheism and their equivalents in Sufi phraseology In

1 Alamgir Namah Elliot, VII p 179

2 Anquetil Duperon published a Latin translation of this work in 1801, see Constable's Bernier, p 323 n

3 For a critical edition and translation of this work, See Contributions of Muslims to Sanskrit Literature vol III,

his grand work Mukālamah ı Bābā Lāl Das he deals with, in course of a dialogue between himself and Babā Lāl Dāsa, the ideals of Hindu asceticism

Dārā Shikoh, probably, got much encouragement in his Sanskritic studies from his maternal uncle Shayasta Khan who was so well versed in Sanskrit that he used to compose verses in it Six of them are quoted in Caturbhuja's Rasa kalpa druma which is not as yet published and a MS of which is in the possession of Ulwar Maharaja's MSS Library [1] The *Pratikas* of the verses are given below :—

i	करान् प्रसार्य	iv	किंशुक-व्याजतो
ii	वस्तुत शुद्ध आत्मा	v	नोरादेव जनुः
iii	गन्तव्यान्नाविक	vi	दारामु मधु—

This was indeed a great age when the Mahomedan aristocrats, Princes, etc not only cared whole heartedly for Sanskritic studies but themselves contributed to Sanskrit Literature

The Mahomedan rulers helped the spread of Sanskritic learning in another way as well That is no less important than their personal initiative in having important Sanskrit works translated into Vernaculars or Arabic and Persian The Hindu nobles and Chiefs followed the

1 Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Ulwar by Peter Peterson, Bombay, 1892, MS No 1067 For details, see pp 78-80

noble example set by them. Thus, the noble initiative of the Mahomedan rulers gained in momentum in course of time and a great enthusiasm for Sanskritic learning prevailed throughout the country. It is during the Moslem rule in Bengal that she came to the fore-front of Sanskritic learning and two new important branches of Sanskritic studies, viz. the Navya-Smṛti and the Navya Nyāya, came into existence.

Thus we see, many Moslem rulers of India, Chieftains as well as Emperors, contributed to the spread of Sanskritic learning in the following main ways: (1) by liberally patronising many scholars in various branches of Sanskrit Literature such as poetry, astronomy, philosophy, etc.; (2) by themselves composing Sanskrit verses, etc.; (3) by themselves composing works, in Arabic and Persian, on Sanskritic learning and Culture; (4) by translating themselves various Sanskrit works into Arabic, Persian and Vernaculars; (5) by making great Sanskrit scholars translate well known Sanskrit works into Arabic, [illegible] evidences adduced [illegible] sion of Hindu and Moslem culture from the eleventh century A.D.

SUPPLEMENT

I

TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF SOME LAUDATORY VERSES ON THE MAHOMEDAN PATRONS OF SANSKRITIC LEARNING.

PATRONS			NO. OF VERSES
1. Akbar	...	...	... 5
2. Emperor of Delhi	...	...	... 1
3. Jahangir	...	...	... 1
4. Muddafar Shah	...	...	... 1
5. Nizam Shah ...	...	...	... 10
6 Shah Jahan	...	...	... 2
7. Sher Shah	...	...	... 1
			21

TEXT AND TRANSLATION OF SOME LAUDATORY VERSES ON MUSLIM RULERS OF INDIA

1. AKBAR

1. [अथ राज-वर्णनम्]

शार्दूलोऽसि प्रकोष्ठे मदकल-करटी मांसल-स्कन्ध-कूटे
दोःस्तम्भे नागराजो ध्वनिषु जलधरः केशरी मध्यदेशे ।
धम्मिल्ले ध्वान्त धारा मनसि जलनिधिर्भ्रू-युगे काल-दण्ड-
स्तत्सत्यं श्रीहुमाऊ कुलतिलक-मणे भीषणाद्भीषणोऽसि[1] ॥

॥ अकबरीय-कालिदासस्य ॥

[DESCRIPTION OF THE KING]

As regards your forearm, you are a tiger; as regards your shoulder, a fleshy intoxicated elephant; as regards your pillar-like arms, a noble elephant; as regards your voice, cloud; as regards your waist, a lion; in your sword, there is immense darkness; as regards your mind, you are an ocean; as regards your eye-brows, the staff of death; there is no doubt, O scion of the family of Humāyūn, that you are more terrible than the terrible one (*Yama*).

2. [अथ खड्गः]

हस्ताम्भोजालि-माला नख-शशि-रुचिर-श्यामलच्छाय वीची
तेजोऽग्नेर्धूम-धारा वितरण करिणो गण्ड-दान प्रणाली ।
वैरि[2]-श्री वेणि-दण्डो लवणिम सरसी-पाल-शैवाल-वल्ली
वेल्लत्यम्भोधरश्रीरकबर-धरणीपाल-पाणौ कृपाणो[3] ॥

अकबरीय-कालिदासस्य ।

1. PV. 53.
2. V.r. पाणी°
3. P.T. 69=PV. 138=PR. 21. 37

The sword shines in the hand of Emperor Akbar (as it were) like a swarm of bees on the hand-lotus, the agreeable and dark shade of the moon-like nails, the column of smoke of the fire of prowess, the flow of ichor on the temple of the elephant of Gift,[1] the stuff-like plaited hair of the Fortune of the enemy,[2] the young duck-weed (Blyxa Octandra) growing in the lake of beauty;—the sword which is as graceful as (the dark) cloud.[3]

3. [अथ रण प्रयाणम्]

गाजी-जल्लालदीन क्षितिप-कुलमणे[:]दाक् प्रयाणे प्रतीते
प्रेयस्यः आरभन्ते तरलतर-गति-व्याकुला मङ्गलानि ।
नेत्राम्भ-पूर पूर्ण-स्तन कलश-मुखन्यस्त-बाल-प्रवाला-
स्त्रुट्यन्मुक्ता-कलाप-च्युत-कुच-कुसुमच्छद्मना कीर्ण-लाजाः ॥

1. *This implies the generosity of the King.*

2. I.e. the emperor is pulling the hair of Lady Fortune of his enemy. This implies that his rivals are constantly under his strict control.

3. The sword is here compared to various dark objects Thus:

Hand of Akbar compared to	His sword compared to
1. lotus	1. swarm of black bees.
2. moon (finger-nails)	2. dark spot on the moon
3. fire	3. smoke issuing from it.
4. elephant of Gift	4. ichor flowing from it.
5. ×	5. plaited hair
6. lake of beauty	6. duck-weed.

O Gāzi Jallaluddin the foremost of all kings, as soon as your beloved ones are convinced of your march for conquest they,—*moving to and fro in confusion*—begin to perform the auspicious rites, their children are the tender leaves on the tops of the breast-pitchers filled up with tears and they go on scattering fried rice under the pretext of falling pearls and the flowers dropping down from their breasts [1]

4. [अथ रण,]

वीर त्व कार्मुक चेद्कतर कलयस्युग्र टङ्कार घोष

दूरे सद्य क्लिष्टा इव धरणिभृतो यान्ति कङ्काल शेषा ।

शङ्कापन्नश्च कि कारणमिति मनसा भ्रान्ति पङ्कायितेन

त्यक्त्वाऽहङ्कारमङ्काद्विसृजति गृहिणीं कि च लङ्काधिनाथ [2] ॥

The Emperor on the battle field

O Akbar the hero! when you carry the bow with a terrible twanging *sound*, the stain like Kings *reduced to* skeletons immediately recede to a great distance The

1 For the performance of auspicious rites, new mango leaves are placed on the top of pitchers filled with holy water Further, *fried rice is scattered all around* Here the breasts of the ladies of the harem soaked with their tears are conceived as pitchers filled with holy water and the suckling babes as the fresh leaves covering the top of the pitchers, and the pearls and flowers, torn asunder in distress, as the fried rice scattered all around.

2 PT 97—SS 158

king of Lankā seized with terror, shunning his pride as a consequence of his mind being besmeared with the mud of confusion about the (real) cause, abandons his wife.[1]

5. [अथ कीर्तिः]

विस्फार्य व्योम-गङ्गामल-गुरु[2]-लहरी कैतवात् केसराली-
उच्चैर्मौलिस्थय[3]-देशे हिमकर-कपटान्मण्डलीकृत्य पुच्छम् ।
दिङ्नागारब्ध-कम्पस्तव[4] विशद-यशःकेसरी काबिलेन्द्र[5]
ब्रह्माण्डारण्य-वीथी-गिरि-गहन-दरी-संक्रमी चंक्रमीति[6] ॥

[अक्बरीय-कालिदासस्य]

Fame.

O Lord of Kabul, the great lion of your fame is again and again roaming about, having spread out its manes in the form of transparent and big waves of the Mandākinī, and having coiled up its tail on its lofty head in the form of the Moon,[7] and having jumped upon the

1. The king of Lankā is unable to determine the cause of the terrible sound of the Emperor's bow and of the immediate destruction of the enemies of the Emperor. This confuses his mind which again makes him give up his pride and run away, leaving even his wife behind.

2. v.r. SS. गङ्गाबलद्गुरु०

3. v.r. SS. मस्तिष्कांशे

4. v.r. SS. लम्बस्तव ।

5. v r. SS. गुर्जरेन्द्र

6. PV. 76=SS. 80.

7. Here the fame of the king is conceived as a mighty lion as high as the sky. So the manes of the lion are said to be the waves of the celestial river Mandākinī while the coil of its tail, the moon.

quarter-elephants[1] and having come into contact with all the forests in the world and the deep caves in mountains.[2]

2. EMPEROR OF DELHI

राजेति क्षणदाकरं विजयते दानोल्लक्ष्मीरिति
स्वर्नागं बहु-वाहिनीपतिरिति क्षीरोदमास्कन्दति ।
दुर्गाधीश इति स्फुटं पुररिपुं विद्वेष्टि भोगोद्भट-
श्रीरित्यर्दति वासुकिं स्व-यशसा दिल्लीन्द्र-चूडामणिः ॥

वाणीकण्ठाभरणस्य ।

As a king[3] the paramount lord of Delhi puts the Moon to shame and the Airāvata that is exquisitely beautiful on account of shedding ichor,[4] challenges the Kṣīroda sea which is the lord of many rivers,[5] rivals,

1. I.e. the King's fame spread over the quarters. It implies that the King's fame spread far and near on all sides.

2. I.e. just as a lion has access even to a deep and remote forest, caves etc., so the king's fame now rules supreme in every nook and corner of the world.

3. Here the pun is on the word Rājan:—1 king; 2 Moon.

4. The pun here is on the Dānorulakṣmī. In the case of the king, it means 'his fortune has increased immensely by the practice of charity' while in the case of the elephant, it means 'whose beauty has increased immensely by the flow of ichor.'

5. Here the pun is on the word Bahuvāhinīpati. In the case of the king it means the lord of many armies while in the case of sea, it means the lord of many rivers.

openly the enemy of the (three) cities i.e. Mahādeva, lord of Durgā[1] and torments Vāsuki possessing a supremely beautiful hood[2] on account of his fame.

3. JAHANGIR

श्यामं यज्ञोपवीतं तव किमिति मषीसंगमात् कुत्र जातः
सोऽयं शीतांशु-कन्या-पयसि कथमभूत्तज्जलं कज्जलाक्तम् ।
व्याकुप्यन्नूरदीन-क्षितिरमण-रिपु-क्षोणिभृत्-पक्ष्मलाक्षी-
लक्षाक्षीणाश्रु-धारा-समुदित-सरितां सर्वतः सङ्गमेन[3] ॥

Why is your sacred thread black?, On account of its contact with ink. Wherefrom is it?, From the water of the Narmadā. How did its water become tinged with collyrium?, On account of its union with all around, the rivers originating from the ceaseless blow of tears of lakhs of the (beautiful) ladies with long eyelashes (of the courts) of the hostile kings of the infuriated king Nūrdina.

4. MUDDAFAR SHAH

आकाश प्रसर प्रसर्पत दिशास्त्वं पृथ्वि पृथ्वी भव
प्रत्यक्षीकृतमादिराज यशसां युष्माभिरुज्जृम्भितम् ।
श्रीमुद्दाफर-शाह-पार्थिव-यशोराशेः समुज्जृम्भणाद्-
बीजोच्छ्वास-विदीर्ण दाडिम-दशां ब्रह्माण्डमारोहति ॥

1. Here the pun is on the word Durgādhīśa. i. The lord of many fortresses; ii. Siva, Lord of Durgā.

2. Here the pun is on the word भोगोदग्रश्री meaning in the case of the Emperor of Delhi—i. Whose great fortune increases enjoyment; and in the case of Vāsuki—ii. whose beauty is enhanced by its hood.

3. Rasa-Gaṅgādhara, p. 703.

O sky, widen yourself; O quarters, you too extend yourselves; O earth! You too be larger; you (all) have witnessed the glorious upheaval of the fame of Veṇa. The Universe will attain the plight of a pomegranate bursting on account of the swelling up of the seeds due to the wide extension of the fame of king Muddafar Shah.[1]

5. NIZAM SHAH

१. [अथ सौन्दर्य-प्रधाना नृप स्तुतिः]

अयं कामो निजामो वा किं त्वया व्यवधारितम् ।
इति दृष्टिरिव प्रष्टुं श्रुतिं श्रयति सुभ्रुवाम्[2] ॥
॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

King's physical charm.

Whether this is Nizam or Cupid—what do you think—in order to ask this as it were the eye of the lovely-browed (ladies) approaches the ear.[3]

1. The sense is that the earth, etc. witnessed glory of former kings such as Vena but they did not burst then. The fame of Muddafar Shah is such that the earth is unable to bear it and is on the point of bursting asunder, so to speak.

2. Padya-racanā, 17.6.

3. I.e. the eyes of these damsels are so large that they are conceived as stretching up to the ear (ākarṇavistṛta). The sense is that even exquisitely beautiful damsels are enamoured of the physical charm of the king and taking him to be Cupid incarnate.

[अथ राज वर्णनम्]

क्षोणीकाम निजामशाह विलसत्-सिन्दूर-कुन्द-स्रजि
स्रष्टा त्वच्चरणं विधाय निदधे वैरि-श्रियो मूर्धनि ।
सीमन्तस्य चकास्ति काऽपि सरणिस्तस्योर्ध्व-रेखादयः
सिन्दूरस्य कणा जयन्ति किरणाः कुन्दानि मन्ये नखाः[1] ॥

॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

O Nizam Shah *longed for by the world*, the Creator made your foot and placed the same on the head of the beautiful wife of your rival king shining with vermilion and a garland of *kundas*.[2] The parting of the hair (of that lady) shines as the shooting upward lines of your feet; the particles of vermilion (looking like rays) triumph (too); and methinks, the *kundas* are the nails (of your feet).

[अथ राज्ञः सौन्दर्योत्कर्षवर्णनम्]

भेदो वाचि दृशोर्जलं कुचतटे स्वेदः प्रकम्पोऽधरे
पाण्डुर्गण्डतटी वपुः पुलकितं लीनं मनस्तिष्ठति ।
आलस्यं नयन-श्रियश्चरणयोः स्तम्भः समुज्जृम्भते
तत् किं राजपथे निजाम-धरणीपालोऽयमालोकितः[3] ॥

[भानुदत्त-कृत रस मञ्जर्याः]

1. Padya-racanā, 16.4

2. So it turns out that the rival of the king is always under his control.

3. Rasa-mañjarī, Benares ed., v. 121, p. 190.

Bhānudatta gives this verse as an illustration of all the सात्त्विकभाव or bodily signs due to amorous sentiments manifesting themselves all together. The idea is that some lady has been subject to all the Sāttvika-bhāvas all at once; this is only possible if a handsome and pleasant personality

Personal charm.

The choking of the voice, water in both the eyes, perspiration of breasts, tremulation in the lower lip; cheeks white, (entire) body horripilated and the mind (is) merged; the dimness of the beauty of the eyes and the motionlessness of the feet are on the increase. Is it then that the Nizam is seen on the high street?,

[अथ खड्गः]

धरणिधर निजामशाह युष्मत्-कर-करवाल-कराल-कालसर्पः ।
द्विपदसु-पवनं निपीय पीनो दिशि दिशि मुञ्चति कञ्चुकं यशस्ते ॥

॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

The sword.

O King Nizam Shah, the terrible cobra in your hand, the sword, sucks in the vital breath of your enemies, attains obesity and leaves off its skin, your fame, on all sides.[1]

like the Nizam be seen by her. A lady, therefore, asks her friend or the lady undergoing the Sāttvika-bhāvas whether she has actually seen the Nizam on the High Street. "नहि तादृश-सुन्दरमन्तरेण सहैव सर्वे सात्त्विक-विकारा उल्लसेयुरिति तात्पर्यम्।

इह स्वर-भङ्गाश्रु-स्वेद कम्प वैवर्ण्य-रोमाञ्च प्रलय-जृम्भा-स्तम्भाः स्फुटा एव। अधर-कम्पेन चुम्बन-स्पृहा; गण्ड पाण्डिम्ना विरह-क्रन्दनं; मनोलीनतया संकेतस्थानत्वं बाह्यमेय-वैमुख्यं राज विषयक-रतिश्च प्रतीयते।"

1. The sword is here compared to a terrible cobra. A snake is conventionally supposed to live on air (Vāyubhuk). In the same manner, the sword is conceived as sucking in the life-breath (prāṇavāyu) of the enemies, that is why it becomes fat, and its old skin is torn asunder as a result.

क्षोणीकाम निजाम तावक-भुजं लब्ध्वा भुजङ्गेश्वरं
जानीमः करवाल-काल-भुजगी किं नाम गर्भिण्यभूत् ।
यद्भिन्नेभ-कपोल-लोल विगलन्मुक्ता-कलापच्छला-
दच्छामण्ड-परम्परामधिरणं सूते स्फुरन्ती मुहुः[1] ॥

॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

The sword of the Nizam

O Nizam longed for by the whole world, evidently your sword, a female-serpent, came into contact with your hand, lord of serpents, and became pregnant. Flashing again and again, she (the sword) is producing bright eggs one after another, in the guise of gems quickly dropping down from the shattered temples of (the) elephants (of rival kings[2]).

Description of his flag (a).

नृपति-निजाम-चमू-चरणार्पण-जनित-प्रभूत-पीडाभिः ।
रचयति वह्निरिव रसनामरुण ध्वज कैतवादवनिः[3] ॥

॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

This cast off skin, white in colour, is conceived as the fame of the king (fame too is traditionally white in colour) spread far and wide. The sense is that the king's heroism gains a world wide repute.

1. PT. 85=SS. 134.

2. Here the sword of the king is conceived as a female serpent. King's hand as a male one. The king by means of his sword is mowing down the huge elephants of rival kings and the pearls from their heads are dropping down like eggs.

3. PT. 84=SS. 143=PV.131.

Immensely pained on account of the placing of the feet of the soldiers of Nizam the ruler, the earth throws out its tongue under the pretext of (the Nizam's) red banner.[1]

Description of his flag (b).

निजाम-वसुधाधिपे क्षिपति शोण-कोणे दृशौ
रणाङ्गण-समुद्भटैः प्रतिभटैर्विभिन्नीकृतम् ।
वपुर्विपुल-वेपथु व्यथितमब्जिनी-प्रेयसो
व्रण-ज्वर-विशङ्कया किमु पताकया स्थूयते[2] ॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

When the Nizam, ruler of the earth, casts his angry look (at them), the rival fighters, very skilful in the battle-field, break atwain. The banner (of the Nizam) touches (wraps up) the body of the lover of the lotus i.e. the Sun shivering violently with the apprehension of contracting fever due to sores.[3]

1. The earth is conceived as a lady who being trampled down by the huge army of the Nizam puts out her tongue in exhaustion. The triumphant red banner of the Nizam is here conceived as the tongue of the exhausted earth. The sense is that the huge army of the Nizam conquered the entire world and unfurled their flag all over.

2. PV. 132.

3. The glance of the King is conceived as a sharp arrow capable of causing sores and fever even to the sun. To save the sun from this plight, the King's banner wraps it up as it were. The sense is that the triumphant banner of the King is tremendously high.

क्षोणीकाम निजाम तावक-भुजं लब्ध्वा भुजङ्गेश्वरं
जानीमः करवाल-काल भुजगी किं नाम गर्भिण्यभूत ।
यद्भिन्नेभ-कपोल-लोल विगलन्मुक्ता-कलापच्छला-
दच्छाण्ड-परम्परामधिरणं सूते स्फुरन्ती मुहुः[1] ॥

॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

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Description of his flag (a)

नृपति-निजाम-चमू चरणार्पण जनित-प्रभूत पीडाभिः ।
रचयति वहिरिव रसनामरण्य ध्वज कैतवादवनि.[3] ॥

॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

This cast off skin, white in colour, is conceived as the fame of the king (fame too is traditionally white in colour) spread far and wide. The sense is that the king's heroism gains a world wide repute.

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Immensely pained on account of the placing of the feet of the soldiers of Nizam the ruler, the earth throws out its tongue under the pretext of (the Nizam's) red banner [1]

Description of his flag (b)

निज़ाम-वसुधाधिपे क्षिपति शोण-कोणे दृशौ
रणाङ्गण-समुद्भटैः प्रतिभटैर्विभिन्नीकृतम् ।
वपुर्विपुल-वेपथु व्यथितमब्जिनी प्रेयसो
व्रण ज्वर विशङ्कया किमु पताकया स्पृश्यते[2] ॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

When the Nizam, ruler of the earth casts his angry look (at them) the rival fighters very skilful in the battle field, break atwain The banner (of the Nizam) touches (wraps up) the body of the lover of the lotus i e the Sun shivering violently with the apprehension of contracting fever due to sores [3]

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2 PV 132

3. The glance of the King is conceived as a sharp arrow capable of causing sores and fever even to the sun To save the sun from this plight, the King's banner wraps it up as it were The sense is that the triumphant banner of the King is tremendously high

दाने द्राघीयसि कपटत खस्तटिन्या खटिन्या
रेखामेका तव कृतवता पुष्करागार भित्तौ ।
नैव प्रापि क्वचिदपि तत श्रीनिजाम द्वितीय-
स्तेनाकारि स्थगित मनसा वेधसा बिन्दुरिन्दु [1] ॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

Nizam's bounteousness

O Nizam, a long series of (your) gifts continuing, Brahmā secretly drew a line on the wall of his lodge Puskara with a chalk, Mandākini, then nowhere did he find a second to you, and therefore, he, stupefied, put in a full stop (by the side of that line) in the form of the moon [2]

[राज-कीर्तिः]

विद्वद्गोष्ठी गरिष्ठ प्रतिभट दमन श्रीनिजाम प्रतीम
कृत्वा त्वत्कीर्ति गाथां वहति गया विधि पद्मयोनि कठिन्या ।
वक्रा लेखा गुरूणाममृतकर-कला कम्बु मल्ली मराला
शुद्धा लेखा लघूनां विस भुजग-नभोनिम्नगा दन्तिदन्ता ।[3]
॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

O, Nizam, the most venerable one in the assembly of the learned the vanquished of (all) rivals, it then

1. PV 100

2. Here Brahmā is described as creating the celestial river Mandakini and the Moon respectively by way of *recording the bountifulness of the King and the absence of* equally bountiful ruler The Bhāgirathi is conceived here as a white chalk mark representing the liberal disposition of the King while the moon is conceived as a full stop *excluding the possibility of any other equally liberal King*

3 Padya racana 8, p 10

appears that the lotus born God (or Brahmā) composed a verse in praise of you and (now) goes on counting the syllables i e, ascertains the long and short syllables with a chalk The moon digits, the conch, the jasmine and the swan are the curved marks (of long syllables) and the lotus stalk, the snake, the Mandākini and the teeth of the elephant are the vertical marks (of short syallables)[1]

[राज प्रताप-वर्णनम्]

क्षोणीकाम निजामशाह भवत प्रौढ प्रतापानलै-
र्गगैव द्रव-रूपतामुपगते चामीकराणां चये ।
भ्रश्यद्वासव धाम धोरणि मुहुर्मज्जद्ग्रह-ग्रामणि
त्रस्यत्-कामिनि निष्पतद्द्युनि तल मेरो समुन्मीलति ॥[2]

॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

O, Nizam Shah, longed for by the whole world, as the masses of gold (of Mount Sumeru) are transformed

1. In Sanskrit scanning long and short syllables are marked with curved (s) and vertical lines respectively. Brahmā is here represented as scannig the verse which he composed in praise of the Nizam i e. marking the syllables with curved and vertical lines Now, the poet artistically represents the curved neck of the Swan, etc as the curved lines of Brahmā's scanning while the straight lotus stalk, etc, as the vertical lines The sense is that all animate and inanimate beings not only human beings but also birds and beasts, etc, like elephant, swan, serpent and inanimate objects like Lotus, Jasmine, Kunda etc, are singing the praise of the King in unison

2 PV 69=SSS 105

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[राज प्रताप-वर्णनम्]

क्षोणीकाम निजामशाह भवत प्रौढ प्रतापानले-
र्दाघेन द्रव-रूपतामुपगते चामीकराणां चये ।
भ्रश्यद्वासव धाम धोरणि मुहुर्मज्जद्ग्रह-ग्रामणि
वस्यत्-स्वामिनि निष्पतद्धुनि तत मेरो समुन्मीलति ॥[2]

॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

O, Nizam Shah, longed for by the whole world, as the masses of gold (of Mount Sumeru) are transformed

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2 PV 69=SSS 105

दाने द्राघीयसि कपटतः स्वस्तटिन्या खटिन्या
रेखामेका तव कृतवता पुष्करागार-भित्तौ ।
नैव प्रापि क्वचिदपि तत श्रीनिजाम द्वितीय-
स्तेनाकारि स्थगित मनसा वेधसा बिन्दुरिन्दुः[1] ॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

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[राज-कीर्तिः]

विद्वद्गोष्ठी-गरिष्ठ प्रतिभट-दमन श्रीनिजाम प्रतीम-
कृत्वा त्वत्कीर्ति गाथां वहति गण विधिं पद्मयोनि· कठिन्या ।
वका लेखा गुरूणाममृतकर-कला कम्बु-मल्ली-मराला·
शुद्धा लेखा लघूनां विस-भुजग-नभोनिम्नगा दन्तिदन्ता· ।[3]
॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

O, Nizam, the most venerable one in the assembly of the learned, the vanquished of (all) rivals, it then

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2. Here Brahmā is described as creating the celestial river Mandākini and the Moon respectively by way of recording the bountifulness of the King and the absence of equally bountiful ruler. The Bhāgirathi is conceived here as a white chalk-mark representing the liberal disposition of the King while the moon is conceived as a full-stop excluding the possibility of any other equally liberal King.

3. Padya racanā 8, p. 10.

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[राज प्रताप-वर्णनम्]

क्षोणीकाम निजामशाह भवत: प्रौढ प्रतापानलै-

र्द्रागेव द्रव-रूपतामुपगते चामीकराणां चये ।

अस्यद्धारान धाम धोरणि मुहुर्मन्दद्मद-मामणि

सस्मित-स्वामिनि निष्पतद्गनि तल मेरौ समुन्मीलति ॥[2]

॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

O, Nizam Shah, longed for by the whole world, as the masses of gold (of Mount Sumeru) are transformed

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2. PV. 69=SSS 105

6. SHAH JAHAN

भूभृन्मौलि-तटीषु वर्षति महाधाराधरेऽस्मिन्नसौ
जाता भूप सरस्वती विजयिनी कल्लोलिनी पावनी ।
श्रीमच्छाहिजहाँ ब्रवीमि तदिदं माहात्म्यमस्याः कथं
यस्यां मज्जति पङ्कजीयति शिरस्तन्मूर्धजोऽलीयति[1] ॥
॥ हरिनारायण-मिश्राणाम् ॥

When the dense cloud pours rain on the summits of the mountains, O king, the Sarasvati becomes triumphant, sonorous and sanctifying O Shah Jahan, I am telling you of her greatness—how the head of a person plunging her in water, is turned into a lotus and his hairs into bees [2]

1 Padyaveni, 141=SS. 138.
The PV. preserves another verse of the same author, viz No 872 (on the Ganges).

निर्गुणाऽपि सगुणा यतस्तरिस्त्वद्भ्रमात् त्रिपथगे समागतम् ।
त्वं करोषि सगुणं हि निर्गुणं नोचितं तदिह ते जगद्धिते ॥

2 The sense is that (i) the Sarasvati swells up if there is heavy rain in the mountains, (ii) if the Emperor beheads the Kings, the red coloured Sarasvati comes into existence out of the blood flowing from them.

The first meaning is that the water of the Sarasvati enhances the beauty of the bathers, the second meaning is that the destruction of the enemies by the king ensures the permanent peace and hapiness of the inhabitants

For Jagannātha's verse referring to Shah Jahan, see p 50 f.n 1

(दिल्लीवल्लभ पाणि-पल्लव तले नीतं नवीनं वय ।)

7 SHER SHAH

श्लोकार्धे वा तदर्धे यदि हि विनिहितं दूषणं दुर्दुरूढै
किं नश्छिन्नं तदा स्यात् कवि कुल विदुषां काव्य-कोटीश्वराणाम् ।
वाहाश्चेद् गन्धवाहाधिक-सुभग-रया पञ्चषा काणखञ्जा
का हानिः शेरसाह क्षितिप-कुलमणेरश्व-कोटीश्वरस्य ॥[1]

॥ भानुकरस्य ॥

If the critics find some fault with one half of a verse (of mine) or even with one half of that (i e one-fourth of the whole verse) what harm accrues to me the most learned of all poets and the composer of millions of poems What is the harm accruing to the paramount lord Sher Shah if out of his million of horses only five or six speedier than air happen to be one-eyed and lame

1. SHV. 468

SUPPLEMENT

II

आसफ-विलास आख्यायिका

श्रीगजवदनाय नमः

अस्ति समस्त प्रशस्त-भूपाल-मस्तक-मणि-मयूख-माला-लालित-चरण-नख-शारदिन्दु-चन्द्रिका चय-चमत्कार-चुलुकित-चराचरांतर-तिमिर-धोरणिः सपुलक सुरासुर-सुन्दरी-समुद्गीयमान-स्फारपारद-परंपरा-सहोदर-यशःसुधा-पटल-सङ्ग-वामाङ्कित-वामाङ्गीक-वामदेव-कलेवर-प्रतिभटीकृत-लोकालोकावनिधरो महस्तरुण-तरणि-किरण-सरणि-समुल्लासित-जगदण्ड मण्डल-पुण्डरीकः साहिजहानाभिध-श्चक्रवर्ती ॥ अपि च ॥

पारींद्राणां धुरीणैरवनिधर-गुहा गर्भतः प्रोत्पतद्भिः
स्वाप भ्रंशापराध प्रचलित-नयन प्रांतमाकर्ण्यमानः ।
यत्प्रस्थानांतरुद्यत्प्रलय-जलधर ध्वान-धिक्कार धीरो
धृष्ट क्षीरोद तीरो जगति विजयते दुंदुभि द्वंद्वनादः ॥१॥
द्वारांदोलन्मदांध-द्विरद-घनघटा-गण्ड-पट्ट-प्रसर्प-
द्दानोद्दाम-प्रणाली मिलदलिवलयोद्धोत चाप प्रतापाः ।
भूपास्तेऽपि प्रभातोन्मद कमलसमुल्लासि-शोभाभिरामां
दैन्य ग्रामांधकार कथन दिनकृतो यस्य दृष्टिं श्रयन्ते ॥२॥
यस्योद्दाम दिवानिशार्थि-विलसद्दान प्रवाह-प्रथा-
माकर्ण्याचनि मण्डलागत-वियद्बंदीन्द्र-वृन्दाननात् ।
ईर्ष्या-निर्भर फुल्ल-रोमनिकर-व्यावल्गदूध[ः]स्रवत्-
पीयूष-प्रसरैः सुरेन्द्र-सुरभिः प्रावृट्पयोदायते ॥३॥

रुदतो निशि शैशवेन दूरीकृत निद्रस्य गजाननस्य गौरी।
उपगायति भीतये यदुद्यन्मद यूथाधिप-यूथ-दानकीर्तिम् ॥४॥

स कदाचिद्विपुल बल वशीभवद्वसुमती-वलय वेल्लनीकृत यशो विमलांशुक:, प्रचण्ड भुज दण्ड-मण्डली भवत्कोदण्ड नि:सरत्कांड खंडीकृताशेष शात्रवः, करटतट निर्गलन्मद द्रव निर्झराणां संप्रति समुत्पन्नानां धराधर शिशूनामिव रिंगतां मतंगजानां संघट्टैः प्रथम समागम त्रस्त नवांगना नासाग्र लंबि मुक्ताफल-चापल मलिम्लुचानां प्रतिखुरनिकर शिलातल-संघट्ट-समुच्छलद्विद्युद्वल्लीकृत विपुल-विस्फुलिङ्गच्छटा पटलानां वाजिनां राजिभिश्च समाकुलया सागर सम सेनया समावृतो विषमतरारोहावरोहाभि[:] स्वरावृत्तिभिरिव क्लेश प्रचुर परिणाम सुखाभिर्वैदिक-कर्म सरणिभिरिव पद्धतिभिरना कलित दुःखलेशं कश्मीर-देशमाजगाम ॥

यस्मिन्ननवरतमपरिमित पयोद पटलपर्यापतत्प्रालेय पुंज-पंजरितेन परित: स्फुरता राजत-प्राकारेणेव गौरी-गुरुणा हिमगिरिणा वेष्टिता, अमित कुसुमामोद माद्यन्मधु वल व्रात गीत माहात्म्यैः कैरपि परिणत रसभार तुंदिलानां फलानां प्रकरेणोपनम्र शाखाशतैरातिथेयैरिव गृहस्थैरसंख्यैः शोभिता, परिफुल्ल-पद्मिनी परिपद्विधून नोद्धूत पराग पटल पांडुरितैश्चपुटैरतिरस-लंपटाभिर्वरटाभि: कण्डूयित-कपोलानां राजहंसानामावलिभिः सेवितैरेकीभवदिन्द्रनील मणि-मयूख-मांसलानामतर्विभावनाविशेष- निरीक्षनीय शेष शिखा - मणीनां सलिलानामाकरैः कमनीयतरा निविडतर शाद्वल श्याम-लिम्ना मरकतमणिमयीव समुल्लसति वसुमती ॥

अथ तत्र सकल सामन्त चक्र चूडा चुम्बित निखिल भूमण्डल-मण्डनायित चरण-कमल - परिमल-लम्पटीभवद्बहल-विबुधजन व्रात-माद्यद्दिंदिर मञ्जुल गुञ्जितैर्मुखरित - दरिदंतरालो विलसित हिम

शैल शृंगस्खलत्तुंग गंगा-तरंगाभिराम-त्विषा शरदभ्रालि-विभ्राजि-शुभ्रांशु-वरकिरण-कांतिद्विषा चतुरुदधि-पारस्लिपा यशः-सुधा-पटलेन परिपांडरित-जगदंड-मंडलोऽनवरत विद्वद्रु मद्रोहि - दारिद्र्य - मायद्द्विपोद्दाम-दर्पौघ-विद्रावणप्रौढ-पंचाननो महामहीरुह इव द्विजकुलायह्वितः ऋतुरिव (?) मधुरिव सकल-सुमनःप्रसादनोऽपि हिमांशुरिव सकलासुमनःप्रसादनः समरार्चितोऽप्यमरार्चितः सार्वभौमसंबंधिषु सकलेषु सामंतेषु वाङ्मयेष्विव काव्य कलापः काव्यकलापेष्विव ध्वनिः ध्वनिषु रसो रसेष्विव शृङ्गारः सकल-सहृदय-हृदयंगमेन महिम्ना मधुरिम्णा च संभावितः सकल -शास्त्र-सारावगाही नवाबासफजाही।

कदाचित्कुतुकाकुलतया विविध--सुमनः-समूह-सुषमा - समास्तरण-संभावित-विश्वंभरावलयम् उपरि - मिलदलि - पुंज - मंजुल-गुंजितैर्बन्दि-वृंद-वदन - विनिर्गत-विबुधविटपि-विजयविरुदावलीभिरिवानत कंधरैरसंख्यैरवनीरुहैः कठिनकर कर-निकर संत्रासतः शरणागतैरिव तिमिर-कुटुंबैरंबुनिकुरुंबैरापूरिताभिर्वापीभिश्च मनोहरमेकीकृतमिव त्रैलोक्यलक्ष्मी-लावण्यं निशांतोपवनं प्रविशद्भि (?) वाङ्मनस-वर्त्मातिवर्ति-पुंजीकृत सकल कुसुम-सौकुमार्य-सारमयैरवयवैः स्वयमनंगेनेव निर्मिताभिर्भृशं नयन-निपातस्थानीभवदंगाभिस्तनुतर-तनुच्छायादंतुरित वनान्तराभिर्निकष-शिला-तलोल्लिखिताभिरिव कांचन-रेखाभिर्निविडतर-नील-पयोद-भ्रमेणागताभिरिव सौदामिनीभिर्दर- विकसित- रदन-मणि--किरण-सरणि-समाप्यायित-चकोरीभिरुपरि विश्राम्यमाणेनापि सतो नीराजितात्मनेव परिफुल्ल कमलेन राजित-कर- किशलयाभिर्दूरादुन्मुक्त-पाथोरुहाणामुन्मुखं धावतामुन्मत्तमधुव्रतानामालिभिराकुलीकृताभिः काभिरपि किंचिदुच्चपरिणत-फल ग्रहण-लालसातितुङ्गीभवत्कुच-तट-

समापतत्प्रिय- नयन-संकोचेन चोन्नमित-परावर्तित-भुज-लताभि-रम्याभिः कर-कमल-कलित - मुकुर-मंडल-प्रतिबिंबित-प्रिय वदन-चुंबन-मुकुलीकृताधराभिः काभिरपि गायंतीभिः सारिका-वलि-वृथांगुली-कंप संपादित वीणागीत भ्रमाभिरंगनाभिरलङ्ं समुल्लासयां-बभूव ॥

तं च गुणानां परस्पर-संसर्ग-जनित गुरु-गर्व-निर्वासनाय विधिना निर्मितमिव सभा-मंडलं परम-सौन्दर्य-सुन्दरी-करण लालित-लोचन लोभनीयमूर्तिम् , ताश्चानंग-सर्वस्वायमान रूप यौवनशालि-नीरवधीनभिरामता-गुणस्य निदानानि प्रथम रसस्य अगोचरं कवि-गवीनाम्, तच्च निखिल-जन नयन-निर्माण साफल्यमिव वनमालोस्य चंडीश -कर तांडवित-चंड दंडाहति - खंडीकृत-कोटि - कोटीर कोटिभि-र्धरणीतल धूलि धवलीभवदष्टांगाभिरामैः पितामहादिभिरमर-निकरैः सेवितं भगवंतममरेश्वराख्यं सदाशिवमर्चयितुमायातः कश्मीरमंडलम् आखंडलो नयन साहस्र विकृतीकृताननमात्मानं, सुकृति - परंपरोपभोग्यास्त्रिदशतरुणीर्निशांतोपवनापह्नतरमणीयतया निज नयनानामनानंदनं [नं]दनं [च] नातिबहुमेने ।[1]

अथ सकल लोक-निस्तार विस्तारित-महोपकार परंपराधीन-मानसेन प्रतिदिनमुपदनवद्य हृद्य-गद्य-पद्याद्यनेक विद्या-विद्योतितांतः-करणैः कविभिरुपास्यमानेन कृतयुगीकृत कलिकालेन कुमति तृणजाल-समाच्छादित वेद वन-मार्ग - विलोकनाय समुद्दीपित सत्तर्क-दहन ज्वाला ज्वालेन मूर्तिमतेव नयायासफलान मनःप्रसादेन द्विजकुल-

1. It is surprising that the MS. having the colophon alright should have such an abrupt conclusion. Evidently, some portion is missing here.

शैल शृंगस्खलत्तुंग गंगा-तरंगाभिराम त्विषा शरदभ्रालि-विभ्राजि-शुभ्रांशु-वरकिरण-कांतिद्विषा चतुरुदधि पारश्लिषा यशः सुधा-पटलेन परिपांडरित-जगदंड- मंडलोऽनवरत विद्वद्रु मद्रोहि - दारिद्र्य - मायदृद्विपोद्दाम-दर्पौघ-विद्रावणप्रौढ पंचाननो महामहीरुह इव द्विजकुलायहितः ऋतुरिव (?) मधुरिव सकल-सुमनःप्रसादनोऽपि हिमांशुरिव सकलासुमनःप्रसादनः समरार्चितोऽप्यमरार्चितः सार्वभौमसंबंधिषु सकलेषु सामंतेषु वाङ्मयेष्विव काव्य कलापः काव्यकलापेष्विव ध्वनिः ध्वनिषु रसो रसेष्विव शृङ्गारः सकल-सहृदय हृदयंगमेन महिम्ना मधुरिम्णा च संभावितः सकल -शास्त्र-सारावगाही नवावासफजाही।

कदाचित्कुतुकाकुलतया विविध--सुमनः समूह-सुषमा - समास्तरण संभावित-विश्वंभरावलयम् उपरि - मिलदलि - पुंज - मंजुल गुंजितैर्वन्दि-वृंद-वदन - विनिर्गत विबुधविटपि-विजयविरुदावलीभिरिवानत कंधरैरसंख्यैरवनीरुहैः कठिनकर कर निकर संत्रासतः शरणागतैरिव तिमिर-कुटुंबैरंबुनिकुरुंबैरापूरिताभिर्वापीभिश्च मनोहरमेकीकृतमिव त्रैलोक्यलक्ष्मी लावण्यं निशांतोपवनं प्रविशद्भि (?) वाङ्मनस वर्त्मातिवर्ति पुंजीकृत सकल कुसुम सौकुमार्य--सारमयैरवयवैः स्वयमनंगेनेव निर्मिताभिर्भृशं नयन-निपातस्थानीभवदंगाभिस्तनुतर-तनुच्छायादंतुरित वनान्तराभिर्निकषशिला तलोल्लिखिताभिरिव कांचन--रेखाभिर्निबिडतर-नील--पयोद-भ्रमेणागताभिरिव सौदामिनीभिर्दर- विकसित- रदन-मणि- किरण-सरणि-समाप्यायित चकोरीभिरुपरि विभ्राम्यमाणेनापि स्वतो नीराजितात्मनेव परिफुल्ल कमलेन राजित-कर- किशलयाभिर्दूरादुन्मुक्त-पाथोरुहाणामुन्मुखं धावतामुन्मत्तमधुव्रतानामालिभिराकुलीकृताभिः काभिरपि किंचिदुच्चपरिणत-फल ग्रहण-लालसातितुङ्गीभवत्कुच-तट-

समापतत्प्रिय-नयन-संकोचेन चोन्नमित परावर्तित-भुज-लताभिरन्याभिः कर कमल-कलित - मुकुर मंडल-प्रतिबिंबित प्रिय वदन-चुंबन मुकुलीकृताधराभिः काभिरपि गायंतीभिः सारिका-वलिवृथांगुली-कंप संपादित वीणागीत भ्रमाभिरंगनाभिरनङ्गं समुल्लासयांबभूव ॥

तं च गुणानां परस्पर संसर्ग-जनित गुरु-गर्व-निरासनाय विधिना निर्मितमिव सभा-मंडलं परम-सौन्दर्य सुन्दरी करण लालित-लोचन लोभनीयमूर्तिम् , ताश्चानंग-सर्वस्वायमान रूप-यौवनशालिनीरयधीनभिरामता-गुणस्य निदानानि प्रथम रसस्य अगोचरं कविगवीनाम्, तच्च निखिल जन नयन निर्माण साफल्यमिव वनमालोन्य चंडीश-कर तांडवित चंड दंडाहति खंडीकृत-कोटि-कोटीर कोटिभिर्धरणीतल धूलि धवलीभवदष्टांगाभिरामैः पितामहादिभिरमर-निकरैः सेवितं भगवंतममरेश्वराख्यं सदाशिवमर्चयितुमायातः कश्मीरमंडलम् आखंडलो नयन साहस्र विकृतीकृताननमात्मानं, सुकृति परंपरोपभोग्यास्त्रिदशतरुणीनिशांतोपवनापहृतरमणीयतया निज नयनानामनानंदनं [नं]दनं [च] नातियत्नमेने ।[1]

अथ सकल लोक निस्तार विस्तारित-महोपकार परंपराधीन-मानसेन प्रतिदिनमुद्यदनवद्य हृद्य गद्य-पद्यानेक विद्या-विद्योतितांतः-करणैः कविभिरुपास्यमानेन कृतयुगीकृत कलिकालेन कुमति तृणजाल-समाच्छादित वेद वन मार्ग - विलोकनाय समुद्दीपित सत्तर्क-दहन ज्वाला ज्वालेन मूर्तिमतेव नयायासकृत्पान मनःप्रसादेन द्विजकुल-

1. It is surprising that the MS having the colophon alright should have such an abrupt conclusion. Evidently, some portion is missing here.

The *Pratikas* of the verses quoted in this work as such have not been reproduced here.

ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF VERSES QUOTED IN THE SUPPLEMENTS



APPENDIX III

ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF THE VERSES OF BHĀNUKARA QUOTED IN THE PADYA-RACANĀ

The first figure against each *Partika* refers to the page of the Padya-racanā and the second to the verse number as given in that page.

List of Abbreviations

PR. = Padya-racanā
PT. = Padyāmṛta-taraṅginī
PV. = Padya-veṇī
RM. = Rasa-mañjarī
RT. = Rasa-taraṅgiṇī
SA. = Sabhyālaṃkarana
SHV. = Subhāṣita-hārāvalī
SS. = Sūkti-sundara
SSS. = Subhāṣita-sāra-samuccaya

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Abdullā-carita. MS. No. 6. Kāvya section, Calcutta Sanskrit College MSS. Library. *Substance: Country-made* colourless paper. 16 × 5 inches. Folios 76. Lines 9-10 in a page. Character: Nāgara. Date, Saka 1643. Appearance very old; worn-ont, slightly worm—eaten throughout, and written by different hands. Composed partly in prose and partly, in verses. Generally correct. Complete. Edited by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri. See p. 80 above.

Āin-i-Akbari, by Gladwin.

————by Blochmann.

Alamgīr-Nāmah. *See* Elliot's History of India (as told by its own Historians).

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List of Abbreviations

PR. = Padya-racanā
PT. = Padyāmṛta-taraṅgiṇī
PV. = Padya-veṇī
RM = Rasa-mañjarī
RT. = Rasa-taraṅginī
SA. = Sabhyālaṃkarana
SHV. = Subhāṣita-hārāvalī
SS. = Sūkti-sundara
SSS. = Subhāṣita-sāra samuccaya

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